

Norbert Oettinger, Stefan Schaffner, Thomas Steer

*„Denken Sie einfach!“*  
Gedenkschrift für Karl Hoffmann

Verlag J.H. Röll

---

Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Beiheft 30

M  
S  
B



Norbert Oettinger, Stefan Schaffner, Thomas Steer

---

*„Denken Sie einfach!“*

Gedenkschrift für Karl Hoffmann

Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft  
Herausgegeben von  
Norbert Oettinger und Stefan Schaffner

Beiheft 30, Neue Folge, 2020

Norbert Oettinger, Stefan Schaffner, Thomas Steer

*„Denken sie einfach!“*

Gedenkschrift für Karl Hoffmann

**Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek**  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in  
der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;  
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über:  
<http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar

© 2020 Verlag J.H. Röll GmbH, Dettelbach

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Vervielfältigungen aller Art,  
auch auszugsweise, bedürfen der Zustimmung des Verlages.  
Gedruckt auf chlorfreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Satz und Layout: Thomas Steer

Printed in Germany  
ISBN 9-783-89754-584-7



*Karl Hoffmann*



## Inhalt

Vorwort . . . . .	9
NORBERT OETTINGER Erinnerungen an Karl Hoffmann . . . . .	13
GEORGE DUNKEL A Familiolectal Eye on Some R̥gvedic Modes . . . . .	19
BERNHARD FORSSMAN Eine Vermutung zu altindoarisch <i>jātarūpa-</i> ‚Gold‘ . . . . .	33
JOSÉ L. GARCÍA RAMÓN Vedisch <i>havanasyádaṃ rátham</i> und homerisch βοηθόον ἄρμα ‚der zum Ruf eilende Wagen‘: ‚zum Ruf (um Hilfe) laufen‘, ‚um Hilfe rufen‘ und die indogermanische Phraseologie . . . . .	41
TOSHIFUMI GOTŌ Altindoiranisch <i>ar/r</i> und urindogermanisch * <i>h<sub>1</sub>er</i> , * <i>h<sub>2</sub>er</i> , * <i>h<sub>3</sub>er</i> . . . . .	75
JEAN KELLENS <i>L'Aśəm Vohū</i> entre Gâthâs et Visprad . . . . .	113
ROSEMARIE LÜHR Konfigurationale Merkmale im Anatolischen . . . . .	123
MICHAEL MEIER-BRÜGGER Drei „Seitenfüller“ . . . . .	155

NORBERT OETTINGER Hethitisch <i>partūwauwas</i> , <i>wattarittaru</i> und luwisch * <i>aram(n)ant(i)</i> - . . . . .	163
ROBERT PLATH Zur Etymologie von vedisch <i>inóti/invati</i> . . . . .	171
JUNKO SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ The Agnihotra, the Agnyupasthāna and the Rājanya. . . . .	183
RÜDIGER SCHMITT Dareios' Inschrift „DPd“ – Gebet, Dichtung, in metrischer Form? . . . . .	235
MICHAEL WITZEL Zu den vedischen Akzent-Systemen . . . . .	255

# The Agnihotra, the Agnyupasthāna and the Rājanya<sup>1</sup>

JUNKO SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ

Those who have set up the sacrificial fires are lifelong obliged to maintain them by daily offering (the Agnihotra) and to animate them by paying homage with formulas (the Agnyupasthāna). In the case of the Rājanya, however, the offering of the Agnihotra is forbidden or restricted in the earliest stratum of brāhmaṇa literature, i.e. prose portion of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, Kāṭhaka- and Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā. This paper aims to elucidate philologically the essential meanings of the Agnihotra as well as the Agnyupasthāna and the reason why the Rājanya was excluded from the Agnihotra in a certain stage of the Vedic religion. It is composed of:

1. The Agnihotra — 1.1., 1.2., 1.3.; 2. The Agnyupasthāna — 2.1. The evening Agnyupasthāna, 2.2. The morning Agnyupasthāna (Prātaravanega) and Vihavya-stanzas, 2.3. A half-monthly exchange of the mantras; 3. Social classes of the Āhitāgni and the Agnihotrin; 4. The Agnihotra of the Rājanya in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā — 4.1. Agnihotra-brāhmaṇa, 4.2. Ādhāna-brāhmaṇa; 5. The Agnihotra of the Rājanya in the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā and Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā; 6. The Agnihotra of the Rājanya in the Śrautasūtras — 6.1. Maitrāyaṇīya School: A. Vārāha-Śrautasūtra, B. Mānava-Śrautasūtra,

---

1 This is a revised and enlarged version of my paper “The Agnihotra and the Rājanya” (read in 2009 at the 14<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference at Kyoto University), which was based on a Japanese article with the same title read in 2004 and published in 2005. The theme itself and the core content of these papers go back to the last chapter of Sakamoto-Gotō 2001 “Zur Entstehung der Fünf-Feuer-Lehre des Königs Janaka” 166f. (5. *Das Verbot des Agnihotra gegenüber dem Rājanya*).

**6.2.** New Taittirīya School: **A.** Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra, **B.** Hiranyakeśi-Śrautasūtra; **7.** Relation of the prescriptions in the brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras; **8.** Summary; abbreviations; bibliography.

## 1. The Agnihotra<sup>2</sup>

**1.1.** The Agnihotra ‘offering oblations to Agni (Fire God as well as the sacrificial fire)’ is the simplest of all the Śrauta rituals but is regarded as a lifelong obligation of the Āhitāgni ‘one who has set up his sacrificial fires<sup>3</sup>’ (see n.48). It is performed twice a day,<sup>4</sup> *sāyām* ‘around sunset, early evening’ and *prātár* ‘around sunrise, early morning’, by the sacrificer (Agnihotrin ‘one who habitually performs the Agnihotra’) with his wife,<sup>5</sup> and one priest, unless the sacrificer himself serves as

- 2 For the origin and peculiarities of the Agnihotra and its relation to the Agnyupasthāna, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2007 “The Ultimate Agnihotra” (in Japanese) 156–162 (: 2.1.–2.3.).
- 3 They are principally three: Āhavaniya, Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇāgni a. k. a. Anvāhāryapacana; further Sabhya (fire for Sabhā ‘meeting house’) and Āvasathya (fire for Āvasatha ‘guest house’) depending on the Schools. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2001 “Zur Entstehung der Fünf-Feuer-Lehre...” 162–165:3.2–3.4.
- 4 The offering at sunset and that at sunrise comprise a unit of the daily Agnihotra. The former precedes the latter and serves as the basic form, see 4.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:102,10f. The predominance of the evening offering is based on the ancient calendar system, according to which a solar day begins **at sunset**, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010 “The Vedic Calendar and the Rituals (1)” 1119f. The Agnihotra is therefore counted by number of nights, cf. KS VI 7:57,3f. *dvādaśa rātrīr agnihotram juhuyāt* ‘one should offer the Agnihotra [to Agni Jātavedas as Rudra] for twelve nights (i.e. 12 times each at sunset and sunrise)’. See 4.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:103,2f. *paurṇamāśīm amāvāsyāṁ vā prāti hotavyām* ‘towards the full moon night or the new moon night (i.e. at sunset and sunrise of both nights), [the Agnihotra] is to be offered’; 5. KS<sup>p</sup> VI 6:56,1f. (≈ KpS<sup>p</sup> IV 5,7) *paurṇamāśīm ca rātrīm amāvāsyām ca juhuyāt* ‘he should offer [the Agnihotra] (at sunset and sunrise) on the full moon night and the new moon night’.
- 5 The BaudhŚS presents a general rule that she attends both the evening and morning offerings (III 4,8) as well as another opinion that she attends only the evening one (III 4,9). ĀpŚS VI 5,1 follows the general rule of BaudhŚS

priest (see 3., n.46). A special cow for this rite is milked just before offering. The fresh milk is cooked (and mixed with a little water) on the Gārhapatya fire and poured into the Āhavanīya fire two times, first with a short mantra, then silently. Before the offering, a formula, so called Vyāhṛti, “*bhūr bhūvah svār*”<sup>6</sup> should be uttered.<sup>6a</sup> The mantra for the

III 4.8, while VārŚS I 5,3,13 and MānŚS I 6,2,16, both belonging to the Mai-trāyanīya School, prescribe that the wife attends only the evening offering, but not the morning one (see 6.1.A).

6 The Vyāhṛti is an almighty formula used in manifold situations of the sacrifices. It is used also as a shortened form for the Agnyupasthāna-mantra (*kṣul-lakopasthāna-/laghūpasthāna-*), taught by Āsuri, against the *dīrghopasthāna*-‘(traditional) long Agnyupasthāna-mantra’ (ŚB-M II 4,1,1f.), see 2., n.26. The three words *bhūr bhūvah svār* are usually explained as three nominative nouns which respectively signify “the earth, the atmosphere (intermediate space between earth and heaven), the heavenly world” (e.g. KS<sup>p</sup> VI 7:56,7–11, see n.6a). This interpretation is, however, rather forced, for the second noun *bhūva-* is hardly attested (cf. EWAia s.v. *bhūvar* [regarded as an artificial adverb by Mayrhofer]) and *svār-* is a material noun ‘sun’s light’. The manner in which the Vyāhṛti is used in the Agnihotra and the Agnyupasthāna lets us presume that this formula was originally composed of two verbs and a noun: ‘you, who are the sun’s light (*svār*), come into existence (*bhūr* 2. sg. root-aor. injunctive [timeless attribute]), shall come into existence (*bhūvah* 2. sg. root-aor. subjunctive [speaker’s will]).’ For example, MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,5:120, 21–121,1 *bhūr bhūvah svāh || iti pūrastād dhótor vaded. etád vā bráhmai. etát satyám. etád rtáṁ. na vā etásmaid rté yajñō ’sti. tásmaid evám vaditavyám.* || “you, who are the sun’s light (*svār*), come into existence [according to your nature] (*bhūr*), shall come into existence [according to my will] (*bhūvah*)”, thus [one] should speak before offering [the Agnihotra]. This (*etád*: i.e. *yajus-* nt.), verily, **controls** (‘*idám bhū construction*’ see 4.1., n.55, n.56, n.57, 4.2. n.61, n.63) the *bráhma* “word possessed of realizing power”. This **controls** the truth. This **controls** the cosmic order. Without this, the ritual does not exist. Therefore it is to be uttered in this way.’ Differently Amano 295: “‘Bhūs, Bhuvas, Svar’, soll er vor der Opferung sprechen. **Dieses (Bhūs) ist das Brahman, dieses (Bhuvas) ist die Wahrheit, dieses (Svar) ist die wahre Ordnung.** Es gibt kein Opfer ohne dieses (Anm. 908)

first libation varies according to the schools.<sup>7</sup> The most popular is, in the evening, *agnír jyótir jyótir agníḥ sváhā* ‘the light is the fire, the fire is the light, Svāhā!’ and, in the morning, *súryo jyótir jyótih súryah sváhā* ‘the light is the sun, the sun is the light, Svāhā!’ (MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:102,11f. [Ādhāna], see 4.2.; only the evening mantra MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,5:121,1 [Agnihotra]). In the KS<sup>p</sup> [Agnihotra], the evening mantra is different: *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* ‘the light is in the fire, in the fire is the light’ VI 1:49,15f. = VI 5:53,20f. = VI 7:56,10f. (with Vyāhṛti, see n.6, n.6a) *bhūr bhuvas svar agnau jotir jyotir agnau*; the morning mantra (only in VI,5: 54,1) is the same as the above-mentioned popular form. The TB<sup>p</sup> [Agnihotra]<sup>8</sup> contains two types: II 1,2,10 *agnír jótir jyótih súryah sváhā* ‘the light is the fire, the light is the sun, Svāhā’ (evening), *súryo jyótir jótih agníḥ sváhā* ‘the light is the sun, the light is the fire, Svāhā’ (morning); II 1,9,2 the above-mentioned popular form. In Sāmaveda II 1181 (II 9,2,8,1), Indra<sup>9</sup> equated with the light *jyotis-* is inserted in the mantra:

---

...”; Bodewitz 1976, 81: “‘Earth, air, heaven’ (n.6) he should say before offering. That (utterance) represents brahman. It is truth, it is order (n.7: ‘*rta* as truth unacceptable’). For without this no sacrifice is (possible).”

6a Cf. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,5:120,21–121,1 (see n.6); I 8,6:124,10f.; KS<sup>p</sup> VI 7:56,7–11 (see n.6); MŚS I 6,1,37; ĀpSS VI 10,7.

7 It is noteworthy that the mantras for the Agnihotra are missing in the mantra-portion of the Black YV, but mentioned in the prose-portion treating the Agnihotra or the Agnyādāna, while they appear with variations in the VS and SV. Conversely, the formulas for the Agnyupasthāna (see 2., n.26), most of which have been taken from the R̄gveda, are collected in the mantra portion of the Yajurveda-Sainhitās, cf. Kasamatsu 2007, 2008, 2009. The peculiarity of the formulas for the Agnihotra suggests its relatively late integration into the Śrauta-ritual system, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2007, 159 (: 4.3.) with n.12.

8 In the Taittirīya School, the Agnihotra is treated not in the TS<sup>p</sup>, but in the TB<sup>p</sup>, while the Agnyupasthāna is treated in the TS, in the mantra portion as well as in the brāhmaṇa.

9 The equation of Indra with the sun, sun’s light (*súvār-*), light (*jyótis-*) or sun’s ray (*raśmī-*) is very popular in the brāhmaṇas (see n.32, 2.3., n.44, 4.2., n.60) and goes back to the R̄gveda, e.g. RV X 55,5 (≈ AV-Ś IX 10,9; AV-P XVI 68,8), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2016, 285, forthcoming ‘On the Prototype of the

*agnir jyotir jyotir agnir indro jyotir jyotir indrah | sūryo jyotir jyotih sūryah svāhā* ‘the light is the fire, the fire is the light, **the light is Indra, Indra is the light;** the light is the sun, the sun is the light, Svāhā.’ VS III 9f. (mantra-collection of the White YV) presents various types of the formulas newly invented by scholars.<sup>10</sup>

These formulas reveal that the Agnihotra is essentially a ritual for the worship of light *jyotiṣ-*, which manifests itself as the sun in the day-time and as the fire in the nighttime. This natural phenomenon was understood in ancient times as follows: 1) the light *jyotiṣ-* or the sun’s light *sūvār-*, further the sun’s rays (pl. *raśmī-*), transfers from the sun into the fire at sunset and from the fire into the sun at sunrise; 2) the setting sun

New Moon Sacrifice...’ 2.3.; supposedly also RV VI 59,5cd, 6d [hymn for Indra and Agni].

10 VS-M III 9: ŚB-M II 3,1,30-36 (~ VS-K III 1-2: ŚB-K I 3,1,21) (a) *agnír jyótir jyótir agníh svāhā súryo jyótir jyótiḥ súryah svāhā |* (b) *agnír várco jyótir várcaḥ svāhā súryo várco jyótir várcaḥ svāhā |* *jyótir súryah súryo jyótiḥ svāhā ||* (a) the popular mantra (ŚB-M II 3,1,30); (b) the mantra enlarged by *várcas-* ‘illuminating power, efficacy of the sacred word (*bráhmaṇ-*)’ taught by Takṣan to Āruṇi (ŚB-M II 3,1,31) or by Dakṣa (ŚB-K I 3,1,22); (c) the mantra with *jyotiṣ-* in its outside, taught by Jīvala Cailaki against the usual mantras with *jyotiṣ-* in its inside (ŚB-M II 3,1,34f. ~ ŚB-K I 3,1,23; cf. 4.2. MS<sup>P</sup> I 6,10:102,12f.). A completely new mantra with Savitṛ is the VS-M III 10: ŚB-M II 3,1,37f. (= VS-K III 3-4: ŚB-K I 3,1,26f.): *sajúr devéna savitrá sajú rātryédravatyā | juṣāṇó agnír vetu svāhā | sajúr devéna savitrá sajúr uṣásédravatyā | juṣāṇáḥ súryo vetu svāhā ||* ‘Together with God Savitṛ, together with the night coupled with Indra, let the fire (Agni), being pleased, pursue [the Agnihotra oblation]! Svāhā! Together with God Savitṛ, together with Uṣas coupled with Indra, let the sun (Sūrya), being pleased, pursue [the Agnihotra oblation]! Svāhā!’ Cf. Eggeling 337 ad ŚB II 3,1,37f.: 37. “Along with the divine Savitri, along with the night wedded with Indra, may Agni graciously accept! Svāhā!”; 38 “Along with the divine Savitri, along with the Dawn wedded with Indra, may Sūrya graciously accept! Svāhā!”; Bodewitz 1976, 84 “Along with the divine Savitṛ” ... “Along with the Night, who has Indra (as her husband)” ... “Agni should approach with delight, hail” ... “Along with the divine Savitṛ” ... “Along with the Dawn, who has Indra (as her husband)” ... “Sūrya should approach with delight, hail” ...

itself enters into the fire and the fire itself enters into the rising sun, 3) the setting sun, having become an embryo, enters into the fire and is newly born from the fire, see 1.2., n.15, TS<sup>p</sup> I 5,9,1f., ŚB II 3,1,1–5. The regularity of daily exchange of the light between the sun and the fire at sunset and sunrise is a manifestation of the cosmic order *ṛtā*- which exists as the eternal truth *satyá*-. The Agnihotra has control of this cosmic order *ṛtā*- which is the truth *satyá*-, cf. 4.1.

The Agnihotra has consequently two aspects: the fire worship and the sun worship. It is assumed that the Agnihotra was secondarily composed as a Śrauta ritual by combination of two originally independent cults, i.e. fire-cult (mainly in the evening) and sun-cult (mainly in the morning). The weight of the Agnihotra seems to have been shifted from the former to the latter in the course of time.

As a fire cult, the Agnihotra is literally offering a meal twice a day to the sacrificial fire (Agni) in order to maintain it for the Āhitāgni (MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,1:115,5–7 = I 8,7:125,14f. ~ KS<sup>p</sup> VI 1:50,4–5). This character is clearly observed in the myths on the origin of the Agnihotra: Prajāpati emitted (created) fire (Agni) from himself (from the top of his head KS<sup>p</sup> or mouth ŚB JB) and offered parts of his body, such as sweat (i.e. butter-oil), sight (i.e. the sun), etc., to the fire escaping from Prajāpati (or pursuing Prajāpati) in search of his own share (i.e. food).<sup>11</sup> It is supposed that the fire going freely hither and thither reflects the wild fire out of human control, which was tamed by offering the Agnihotra. Noteworthy is also the close connection of the Agnihotra with the Agnyupasthāna as discussed below 2., 3.

As the sun cult, the object of milk oblation is not the fire, but the sun for its regular movement, above all its daily rising. Regarding the offering to the sun, we could refer to the morning (and evening) offering to Aśvin and Nāsatya, the former being a driver of the sun's chariot by day and the latter a driver of the sun's ship by night, attested in the RV

---

11 See 4.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:102,6–13 [Ādhāna]. This myth, with variations, is very popular in the brāhmaṇas, e.g. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,1:114,11–115,5; KS<sup>p</sup> VI 1:49,10-12 and 49,15–50,2; TB<sup>p</sup> II 1,2,1–3; II 1,6,4–5; II 3,7,1; ŚB II 2,4,1–7; II 3,3,1–2; JB I 73.

X 39,1; X 40,4, etc.,<sup>12</sup> also to the rite of Pravargya, offering of *gharmá-* ‘hot milk mixed with boiling butter’,<sup>13</sup> incorporated into the Soma sacrifice.

**1.2.** On the other hand, the idea that the sun is daily born from the (sacrificial) fire appears as early as in the RV X 88,6 *mūrdhā bhuvó bhavati náktam agnís | tátah súryo jāyate prātár udyán* ‘The fire becomes the top (*mūrdhán-*) of the existence at night. From that (the fire), the sun is born rising in the early morning.’<sup>14</sup> From the brāhmaṇas onward, there was a popular conception that offering the Agnihotra realizes the daily rebirth of the sun from the sacrificial fire, which is the sun’s generative organ (*prajánana-* nt.) or womb (*yóni-* m., later f.: originally ‘place of origin or abiding’).

In the prose portion of the Black YV, milk is considered as the sun’s semen.<sup>15</sup> The evening libation signifies pouring the sun’s semen into the generative organ, while the morning libation delivers the sun’s child from the fire,<sup>15a</sup> see **4.2.** MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:102,6–13. By the Agnyupasthāna by night (see **2.1.**), the Āhitāgni, just like God Dakṣa, transforms from the sun’s semen poured in the evening into the sun’s embryo to be born in the morning, according to the TS<sup>p</sup> I 5,9,1f. [Agnyupasthāna] (see **n.15a**).

In the White YV, the sun plays a much more important role than in the Black YV, for example:

---

12 Cf. Gotō 2009 “Aśvin- and Nāsatya- ...” 202:5.2.

13 *gharmá-* means originally ‘heat, hot’, hence ‘hot drink’ as an oblation in the rituals. In the case of the Agnihotra, cooked milk, especially not mixed with water, is called *gharmá-*.

14 Cf. the fire was emitted from the top of Prajāpati’s head (*mūrdhán-*), see **1.1.** the myth on the origin of the Agnihotra with **n.11**.

15 Cf. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,2:117,12–19 [Agnihotra]; KS<sup>p</sup> VI 3:51,9–14, VI 7:56,19f. [Agnihotra]; see also **n.15a**.

15a Cf. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,5:121,6–8 [Agnihotra]; KS<sup>p</sup> VI 5:54,3–6 [Agnihotra]; TS<sup>p</sup> I 5,9,1f. [Agnyupasthāna] (see below).

## ŚB II 3,1,1–5 [Agnihotra]

1. *súryo ha vā agnihotrám.* | tát yád etásyā ágra áhuter udáit tásmāt súryo 'gnihotrám. || 2. sá yát sāyám ástamite juhóti | yá idám tásminn ihá satí juhavānīty. átha yát prātár ánudite juhóti yá idám tásminn ihá satí juhavānīti. tásmād vái súryo 'gnihotrám íty āhuḥ. || 3. átha yád astám éti | tát agnāv evá yónau gárbo bhūtvā práviśati. tám gárbo bhávantam imáḥ sárvāḥ prajā́ ánu gárbo bhavantī. litā́ hí séré samjānānā. átha yád rátris tirá evāitát karoti. tirá iva hí gárbo bhāḥ. || 4. sá yát sāyám ástamite juhóti | gárbo bhávantam abhijuhóti gárbo bhávantam abhikaroti. sá yád gárbo bhávantam abhijuhóti tásmād imé gárbo bhāvā ánaśnanto jīvanti. ||

1. The sun verily has control of ('*idám bhū construction*' see 4.1., n.55, n.56, n.57, 4.2. n.61, n.63) the Agnihotra.<sup>16</sup> That [the sun] rose preceding (ágre) this offering (abl. f. *etásyās áhuter*),<sup>17</sup> therefore the sun has control of the Agnihotra. 2. When [one] offers [the Agnihotra] in the evening after the sunset, then [one offers thinking]: "I will offer this (*idám*: Agnihotra) in that (*tásmin*: the sun) being here (*ihá*: in the sacrificial fire)". 3. When the sun goes home (sets), then [the sun], having become an embryo, enters into the very fire which is [the sun's] womb. According to the sun becoming an embryo, all these living beings on earth become embryos.

16 *idám bhū construction* is recognized neither by Eggeling 327, "The Agnihotra, doubtless, is the sun.", nor by Bodewitz 1976, 35, "The **agnihotra (oblation)** is Sūrya (the sun)." Though *agnihotra-* is often used in the sense of 'oblation of the Agnihotra' (acc. of content [Inhaltsakkusativ] of *juho-*"), and that the sun (i.e. Prajāpati's sight) is offered to Agni in the myth on the origin of the Agnihotra (see 1.1. with n.11), Bodewitz's translation is not suitable for this sentence. As is explained in the 4th Paragraph, the sun is not the oblation, but the deity to which the oblation is offered.

17 In the primeval time, the first Agnihotra was offered at sunset, after the sun rose and moved across the sky from the east to the west. Cf. Eggeling 327: "It is because he rose in front (*agre*) of that offering, that the Agnihotra is the sun." with n.1 "apparently an etymological play on the word agnihotra = agre hotrasya, cf. II 2,4,2"; similarly Bodewitz 1976, 35 with n.6: "Here *agre* is used in an 'etymology' ...."

They namely lie quietly (*ilitá-*), being of one mind. Now that the night verily conceals [them] in this way, [it is] because the embryos are concealed. 4. When one offers in the evening after the sunset, then **one offers [the Agnihotra] indeed toward [the sun] being an embryo**, one acts toward [the sun] being an embryo. That one offers [the Agnihotra] to [the sun] being an embryo, from that these embryos on earth live [even though they are] not eating.

The sun, having become an embryo, enters into the sacrificial fire at sunset, stays there during the night and is newly born from there at sunrise. The libation of milk, after sunset and before sunrise, is considered to nourish the sun's embryo staying in the fire. In both the speculations in the Black YV and in the White YV, the Agnihotra is deeply united with sexual reproduction of the sun as well as living beings (mankind and cattle), see **n.48** ŚB II 3,1,13.

**1.3.** Another aspect of the Agnihotra as well as the Agnyupasthāna (see **2., 2.1.**) is hospitality to the guest (*átithi-*) according to the ancient customary law: when a guest arrives at a householder's residence toward sundown, the householder is obliged to greet the guest and to provide him with meals and lodging; this counts among the Āhitāgni's duties (*vratāni*)<sup>17a</sup>, cf. **6.1.A.** VārSS I 5,3,15 ≈ ĀpSS V 25,5. At sunset, the sun, the light (*jyótis-*), the sun's light (*svár-*), or the sun's rays (*raśmí-pl.*)<sup>18</sup> enter into the sacrificial fire, see below ŚB II 3,1,7.<sup>19</sup> The Agnihotra signifies offering meals to those divine guests equated with *viśve devāḥ* 'all gods' or 'a group of subordinate gods',<sup>20</sup> Prajāpati or Indra

17a Cf. Krick 501–513, esp. 504–508.

18 The sun's rays (*raśmí-pl.*) are considered as *viśve devāḥ* 'all gods' (see **n.20**), *sukṛt-* pl. 'those virtuous, i.e. deceased meritorious sacrificers', *devā marīci-pāś* 'the gods who drink bright particles of vapor', Ādityas and Aṅgiras, etc., cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-2 "kathāṁ-katham ..." 242 Anm.34.

19 This passage underlies Yājñavalkya's answer to the Janaka's question in the ŚB XI 6,2,4, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-2 "kathāṁ-katham ..." 242–244.

20 Cf. T. Gotō 2007, 853 Glossar s.v. *Viśve Devāḥ*: "Wörterlich: 'alle Götter'; entweder im Sinne von 'verschiedenen Götter' oder einer bestimmten, aber nicht näher definierten Gruppe von Göttern gebraucht; später stärker als eine

(see n.9, n.32), while the Agnyupasthāna (see 2.) is considered as entertaining them by compliments.

### ŚB II 3,1,7–9 [Agnihotra]

7. *sá yáḥ purādityásyāstamayát | āhavanīyam uddháraty. eté vái  
víśve devāḥ raśmáyó-. átha yát páram bhāḥ prajāpatir vā sá índro  
vai-. etád u ha vái víśve devāḥ agnihotráṇi júhvato grhāṇ āgachanti.  
sá yásyānuddhṛtam āgáchanti tásmād devāḥ apapráyanti. ... || 8.*  
*átha yáḥ purādityásyāstamayát | āhavanīyam uddhárati yáthā śré-  
yasyāgamiṣyáty āvasathénópaklptenopásītaivám tát. sá yásyód-  
dhṛtam āgáchanti tásyāhavanīyam práviṣanti tásyāhavanīye nívi-  
sante. || 9. sá yát sāyám ástamite juhóti | agnāv evāibhya etát prá-  
viṣtebhyo juhoty. átha yát prātár ánudite juhóty ápretebhya evāibh-  
ya etáj juhoti. tásmād uditahomínāṇi vichinnam agnihotráṁ man-  
yāmaha iti ha smāhāsurir yáthā śūnyám āvasathám āháred evám  
tád iti. ||*

7. When [the Agnihotrin] takes out<sup>21</sup> the Āhavanīya fire [from the Gārhapatya] before sunset, — **these sun's rays are verily víśve devāḥ ‘all gods’** (see n.18, n.20). Now when there is exceedingly (páram adv.) splendour (bhā- f.sg.), this is either **Prajāpati or Indra** (see n.9, n.32). And, in this way, all gods come to the residence

selbständige Göttergruppe aufgefaßt und zum Teil mit den Vorfahren (Vätern) verbunden”. In the brāhmaṇa literature, this term designates a group of subordinate gods without individual names, who may be often equated with Gandharvas or Pitaras ‘fathers who have ascended to heaven’, see n.18. In the brāhmaṇa-literature, the ancient notion is traced that the fathers come home back at sunset and stay overnight with the householder and his wife in order to bring them a son (one of the deceased fathers enters into the wife’s womb as their embryo), above all in the night of lunar conjunction (*amāvāsyā-*). Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō forthcoming “On the Prototype of the New Moon Sacrifice” 2.1. with n.17, Ex.1.

21 The Āhavanīya fire is usually taken out from the Gārhapatya fire each time for the Agnihotra, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-2 “kátham-katham...” 241 Anm.32.

(*gr̥ha-* pl.)<sup>22</sup> of the one who is offering the Agnihotra. In the case that they come to the [Āhavanīya fire] not yet taken out, the gods go away from him... 8. On the other hand, when [the Agnihotrin] takes out the Āhavanīya fire before the sunset, that is, if someone superior is going to come [to one's residence], one would attend on him with a prepared guesthouse, that is like this. When [the gods] come to the Āhavanīya taken out [by an Agnihotrin], they enter into his Āhavanīya, sit down in [his] Āhavanīya. 9. Now when he offers [the Agnihotra] in the evening after the sun has set, he is considered to offer [that] to these (gods) who entered in this way into the fire. Now when he offers [the Agnihotra] in the morning before the sunrise, then he is considered to offer [that] in this way to these (gods) who have not yet departed. "Therefore we consider the Agnihotra of those who offer after the sunrise as cut asunder (*víchinna-*)<sup>23</sup>", thus Āsuri used to say, "as if one brings [a meal] to the empty guesthouse, that is like this."

For the notion that the Agnihotra is nothing but offering a meal to the divine guests, cf. 2.1. MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,1–5.

22 *gr̥há-* 'house' is used often in the pl. in the Vedic, which suggests that *gr̥há-* was originally a simple hut developed from "(bewegliches) Haus, Wohnwagen" (RV X 119,13; nach R. Hausschild Fs. Weller 276, cf. EWAia s.v.).

The sacrificer's residence seems to be composed of several huts assigned to family members, e.g. householder, wife (wives), sons, daughters, grandparents, other kinsmen, servants, house priests, brahmācārins, as well as huts for keeping the sacrificial fires (*agnigr̥ha-*, *agnyāgāra-*), for meeting with guests (*āmāntrāṇa-*), for lodging guests (*āvasathā-*), etc.

23 At the sunrise, the sun's rays (all gods) leave the fire. The offering into the fire after sunrise cannot be received by them and comes to naught. The continuity of the Agnihotra gets cut asunder by invalidity of the morning offering. For the continuity of sacrifices, see 4.1. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,7:127,3f., 4.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:103,4.

## 2. The Agnyupasthāna

The *agnyupasthānā*<sup>24</sup> ‘paying homage to the sacrificial fires by standing aside and reciting mantras’, hence also ‘the whole of mantras for worshipping the fire’, is not a ritual (*yajñá-*) performed by the priest(s) for the sacrificer (*yájamāna-*), but a general term for the cults practiced by the Āhitāgni (i.e. Agnihotrin or Yajamāna) himself in various manners on various occasions (see n.24), either independently of the Śrauta rituals or incorporated into them.<sup>25</sup> The essential meaning of the Agnyupasthāna consists in animating the sacrificial fires by formulas addressed to diverse aspects of Agni, either periodically (daily, yearly) or on special occasions such as setting them up, leaving them for a journey, etc.; by this means, Agni is expected to provide necessary assistance to the Āhitāgni. The diversity of the Agnyupasthāna is the most remarkable in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.

The Agnihotra is closely related to the Agnyupasthāna, though they are treated in different ways in the mantra collection and brāhmaṇas of the YV (see n.7, 3.). The evening Agnihotra is immediately followed by the Agnyupasthāna which consists of reciting numerous formulas for Agni, most of which are taken from the RV.<sup>26</sup> It is quite natural to

24 The transitive verb *upa + sthā* (in affective medium; nt. *upasthāna-*) means ‘stand near someone or something superior (acc.) with respect’, hence ‘serve, pay reverence, pay homage, worship’. In the Vedic rituals, this act is usually accompanied with recitation of praising formulas; the agent of *upa-sthā* is always the Āhitāgni, who is at the same time Agnihotrin or Yajamāna. The object of *upa-sthā* is various, but most frequently *agní-* ‘sacrificial fire, par excellence, Āhavaniya’. The rite of the Agnyupasthāna includes often paying homage to objects other than fires, e.g. cattle, residence (*grhá-* pl., n.22), ash, etc.

25 It is not rare that the same formulas are used in different situations. For example, the mantras before and after the journey have been transformed into the *virāja-krama-/virāṭ-krama-* ‘step of Virāj’ integrated into the Agnyādheya ‘setting up of the sacrificial fires’ in the Taittirīya School, cf. Krick Feuergründung 434 and Sakamoto-Gotō 2001, 163f. (: 3.4.).

26 For the relation of the mantras for the Agnyupasthāna among the YV<sup>mp</sup>, RV and AV, cf. Kasamatsu 2008, 2009. As an abbreviated form of the evening

assume that the Agnihotra and the evening Agnyupasthāna originally comprised a complementary pair of the fire cult in the evening, the former offering oblations and the latter reciting formulas.<sup>27</sup> This fire cult is supposed to be performed by the Āhitāgni himself who was a learned Brahmin with ability to recite precisely a number of RV stanzas, see 3.

In the morning, however, the Agnyupasthāna is not performed,<sup>28</sup> with a few exceptions in the MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,1–5 (with related Śrautasūtras)<sup>29</sup> and ŚB-M II 3,2,1–5.<sup>30</sup> The reason why the Agnyupasthāna is performed only by night is discussed in all the brāhmaṇas of the YV.<sup>31</sup> Special attention is to be paid to the MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,1–14 [Agnyupasthā-

Agnyupasthāna, Āsuri proposes to utter simply the Vyāhṛtis (see n.6) ‘bhūr  
bhūvah svāḥ’ ŚB II 2,4,1f.

- 27 For a different view, cf. Kasamatsu 2008, 12 (l. 17ff.).
- 28 A few Śrautasūtras admit a facultative Agnyupasthāna after the morning Agnihotra, which seems a mere imitation of the evening Agnyupasthāna, e.g. ŚāṅkhŚ II 13,9, HirŚ VI 6. The ĀpŚS presents various manners of Agnyupasthāna, cf. Dumont 109. The HirŚS and the ĀpŚS prescribe, moreover, Prātaravaneka (see 2.2. Prātaravanega) with recitation of four Vihavya-stanzas in the morning, see n.38.
- 29 The Maitrayanīya School (*prātaravanega-*): VārŚS I 5,4,18ff.; MānŚS I 6,2,17f. The New Taittirīya-School (*prātaravaneka-*): BhārŚS IV 3,10–13; ĀpŚS VI 19,4f.; HirŚ VI 6, see 2.2., n.38. For the affinity of the ĀpŚS and the HirŚS to the MS<sup>p</sup>, cf. 6.2.
- 30 This is another type of the daily Agnyupasthāna without mantras (missing in the ŚB-K; ≈ KātyŚS IV 15,29–33): after the evening and morning Agnihotra, standing or sitting near the Āhavāṇīya, sitting or lying near the Gārhapatya, remembering the Anvāhāryapacana; before the meal in the morning, sitting down in the Sabhā; stepping near the ashes removed from the fire-places. This Agnyupasthāna is fundamentally different from the traditional one and could have influenced the Pañcāgnividya of King Janaka, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2001, 165f. (: 4.3.).
- 31 MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,1–5; KS<sup>p</sup> VII 5:66,18–67,1 = KpS<sup>p</sup> V 4:63,7–10; TS<sup>p</sup> I 5,9,5f.; ŚB-M II 3,4,3 (= ŚB-K I 4,1,2). Incidentally, TS<sup>p</sup>I 5,9 contains various interpretations of the Agnyupasthāna, one of which is combined with the Agnihotra for conception and birth of the sun, see 1.2., n.15.

na] which, at the beginning, denies performing the morning Agnyupasthāna in the same manner as the evening one, then requires a special kind of morning Agnyupasthāna named *prātaravanegá-* ‘washing hands in the early morning’ (*prātaravaneka-* in ŚŚ) with recitation of four stanzas of Vihavya-Sūkta (RV X 128), and finally prescribes a half-monthly exchange of the mantra according to the deities for New and Full Moon Sacrifices.

## 2.1. The evening Agnyupasthāna

**MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,1–5 (≈ KS<sup>p</sup> VII 5:66,20–67,1; cf. TS<sup>p</sup> I 5,9,5f.)**  
**[Agnyupasthāna]**

*brahmavādīno vadanti kásmāt sāyám agním upatiṣṭhante kásmāt  
 prātár néti. asau vā ādityáḥ sāyám ásuvati. tásmāt sāyám úpati-  
 ṣṭhante. eṣā prātāḥ prásuvati. tásmāt prātár nōpatiṣṭhante. tásmāt  
 sāyám áhute 'gnihotré 'gnihotrīṇā nāśitavyām. tásmād u prātár  
 áhute nāśitavyām. tásmāt sāyám átithaye prátyenasaḥ. puṇyatvāt  
 tú prātár dadati.*

Those who discuss the brahman ‘the sacred word possessed of realizing power’ say: Why do [the Āhitāgnis] pay homage to the fire in the evening? Why not in the morning? The yonder sun (*ādityá-*), verily, drives [the sun’s light, i.e. Indra]<sup>32</sup> hither [into the sacrificial fire] in the evening. Therefore [the Āhitāgnis] pay homage [to

32 The object of trans. *āsuvati* and *prásuvati* is intentionally unexpressed and considered to be Indra as the sun’s light, based on the concept that Indra equated with the sun enters into the fire by night, e.g. KS<sup>p</sup> VII 4:66,1 (= KpS<sup>p</sup> V 3:62,7f.) [Agnyupasthāna] *sūryo vā indras*. so 'gnim naktam̄ praviśat̄. ‘**Indra is verily the sun**. He enters the fire by night’; MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,5:73,11–13 [Agnyupasthāna] *ubhā vām̄ indrāgnī āhuvádhyā ity. ubháu hy ètāu sahā-* *āmūm̄ vā ayám dívā bhūté prá viśati. tásmād asau dívā rocata. imām̄ asau náktam̄. tásmād ayám náktam̄.* [The Āhitāgni recites] “In order to call (*āhu-vádhyai*; cf. Delbrück 412, Sgall 225f. “Aufforderungsformen der ersten Person”) you both hither, Indra and Agni, …” (MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,1:65,10f. = RV VI 60,13). The both (Indra and Agni) is namely together. This (fire: Agni) enters that (the sun: Indra) when the day breaks. Therefore that (the sun: Indra) shines

the fire] in the evening. This (*ādityá-*) drives [the sun's light, i.e. Indra] forth [out from the sacrificial fire] in the morning. Therefore [the Āhitāgnis] do not pay homage [to the fire] in the morning. Therefore, the Agnihotrin should not eat when the Agnihotra has not been offered. And, therefore, in the morning, [the Agnihotrin] should not eat when [the Agnihotra has] not been offered. Therefore, in the evening, [people] owe the guest the debt to pay back (*prátyenas-*). But, in the morning, [people] give [a meal to the guest] because [this] is a meritorious deed [for their next world] (*punyatvāt*).<sup>33</sup>

The setting sun drives the traveler, seeking a night's lodging, to the residence of the Āhitāgni (Agnihotrin), who has a duty (*vrata-*) to treat him as *sūryodha- atithi-* ‘guest carried by the sun’, see 6.1.A. VārŚS I 5,3,15 ≈ ĀpŚS V 25,5. The theme is here the hospitality to the divine guest, i.e. the sun's light equated with Indra (see n.32), cf. 1.3. ŚB II 3,1,7–9. The guest enters into the fire at sunset and goes forth from the fire at sunrise. Only in the evening after the Agnihotra, the host (Āhitāgni) pays homage to the fire in which the guest stays, but not in the morning after the Agnihotra, because the guest has already left the fire. Now the topic changes from the Agnyupasthāna to the Agnihotra.<sup>34</sup> The libation of the Agnihotra signifies giving a meal to the divine guest (sun's light). The Agnihotrin should not eat before the guest not only in the evening but also in the morning. Since the sun's light grows plants and cattle and brings forth food for the human beings, people owe the sun's light for their meal, represented by milk. This is the debt to be repaid

---

by day. That (the sun: Indra) enters this (earth: f. *imām*) by night. Therefore this (fire: Agni) [shines] by night.’ Differently Amano 184 “Die Sonne dort treibt am Abend [alles ans Feuer] heran ... dies treibt am Morgen [alles vom Feuer] fort ...”.

33 Cf. Amano 184 “aus Güte” with Anm. 262 “...*punyatvāt* bedeutet ‘aus Güte’ im Sinne von ‘nach Belieben’ im Gegensatz zu *prátyenas-* ‘verpflichtet’. This explanation is difficult to accept, because the morning libation of the Agnihotra is **not facultative, but obligatory**. See below and n.34.

34 This change of topic is overlooked by Amano 184, 185 Anm.184 (see n.33) and Kasamatsu 2008, 97.

(*prátyenas-*) by the evening libation of the Agnihotra. The morning libation of the Agnihotra is, as it were, a gift for the departing guest, of which the effect will be enjoyed by the Agnihotrin in his yonder world. The concept of *iṣṭāpūrṭá-* ‘effect of what is performed (as a ritual) and gifted’<sup>35</sup> seems to underlie *punyatvāt*.

## 2.2. The morning Agnyupasthāna (Prātaravanega) and Vihavyastanzas

### MS<sup>P</sup> I 5,7:75,5–8 [Agnyupasthāna]

*prātaravanegéna prātár upasthéyas.ádhíśrita unniyámāne vā hástā ávanenijīta. tátra vihavyásya cátasráj̄co vadet prātaravanegé cátasrah. prātaravanegéna vā ánāptam ápnóty ánavaruddham ávarunddhe. tátád ánāptam evaíténápnóty ánavaruddham ávarunddhe.*

In the early morning, [the fire] is to be paid homage to by the *prātaravanegá-* ‘washing [hands] in the early morning.’ [When the milk for the Agnihotra is] placed on [the Gārhapatya fire] or being ladled out (*unniyámāne*)<sup>36</sup> [four times into the ladle *srúc-*], [the Āhitāgni = Agnihotrin] should wash off his hands. At that time, he should recite four stanzas (*j̄c-*) of the Vihavya-Sūkta (see n.38), four (stanzas) during the *prātaravanegá-* “washing (hands) in the early morning.” By the Prātaravanega, verily, he attains what is not yet attained, encloses for himself what is not yet enclosed. Therefore he is considered to attain, in this way, what is not yet attained, to enclose for himself what is not yet enclosed.

Though the morning Agnyupasthāna is not performed in the same way as the evening one, another type of morning Agnyupasthāna named

35 Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-1 “Das Jenseits und *iṣṭā-pūrtá-* ‘Die Wirkung des Geopferten-und-Geschenkten’ in der vedischen Religion”.

36 Amano 185 “nachdem er sie ausgeschüttet hat” is not suitable for pres. part. *unniyámāne*. Since the Āhitāgni (= Agnihotrin) cannot wash his hands and ladle out the cooked milk at the same time, ladling out should be done by a different person, either a priest or an assistant. Also in MS<sup>P</sup> I 8,4:119,18, the person who ladles out cooked milk is different from the Agnihotrin. See 3., n.46.

*prātaravanegá-* ‘washing (one’s hands) in the early morning’ accompanied by recitation of four stanzas belonging to the Vihavya-Sūkta (RV X 128 ~ AV-Ś V 3 [AV-P V 4])<sup>37</sup> is prescribed.<sup>38</sup> This Agnyupasthāna is, however, inserted into the morning Agnihotra in contrast to the evening Agnyupasthāna after finishing the Agnihotra.

Now a question arises why this rite with water is reckoned as the Agnyupasthāna (see 2., n.24). Though the first stanza of the Vihavya-Sūkta begins with an appeal to Agni to give *várcas-* ‘illuminating power, competence for the ritual’, the following stanzas call other gods, see below. The character of the fire worship is fading in the Prātaravanega. It is more natural to consider washing hands to symbolize purifying oneself by water before the libation of the Agnihotra, just like touching water at the beginning of the sacrifice, before putting fire-sticks in the sacrificial fires<sup>38a</sup> or before declaration of Vratopāyana ‘undertaking the Sacrificer’s duty’<sup>38b</sup>, cf. further the rite of bathing and shaving hair and beard before the commencement of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices and the Apsudīkṣā of the Soma Sacrifice.<sup>39</sup>

The Vihavya-Sūkta is not a hymn praising Agni, but a hymn for *vihavá-* ‘competitive calling to gods’ by which a sacrificer, rivaling

37 For its use in the YV, cf. Nishimura 2015, 841.

38 *prātaravanegá-* ‘washing hands in early morning with recitation of four Vihavya-stanzas’ is treated concretely with mantras in VārŚS I 5,4,18–23. Curiously, the rite of washing hands with recitation of four Vihavya-stanzas is mentioned, not only as Prātaravanega in the early morning, but also at the beginning of the Agnyupasthāna in the evening (and morning) in VārŚS I 5,4,1 as well as MānŚS I 6,2,1. On the other hand, the MānŚS does not refer to the Prātaravanega or washing hands in the early morning; it prescribes only recitation of four Vihavya-stanzas, or entire Vihavya-sūkta, in the early morning (MānŚS I 6,2,17f.). Also BhārŚS IV 3,10–13, ĀpŚS VI 20,1–2 and the HirŚS VI 6,21, all belonging to the New Taittirīya School, treat the rite Prātaravanega but under the transformed name *prātaravaneka-*, see n.29.

38a Cf. TB<sup>p</sup> III 10,9,2; ĀpŚS IV 1,6–7.

38b Cf. ŚB I 1,1,1 (≈ ŚB III 1,2,10 [Apsudīkṣā], see n.39); KātyŚS II 1,11.

39 Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 1994 “Hair and Beard”, [forthcoming] “Symbolik von Haar und Bart...” and “Symbolism of Hair and Beard and Ritual Structure in Early Vedic Literature”.

other sacrificers, calls gods such as Agni, Indra, Viṣṇu, Soma, etc., for his sacrifice (not specified in the RV X 128). The Vihava is supposed to have been composed for the Iṣṭi Sacrifice after the model of the Saṁsava ‘competition in inviting the gods for the Soma Sacrifice.’ The sacrificer’s recitation of the Vihavya-stanza(s) is discussed also in MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,12:81,11–15 [Agnyupasthāna] and MS<sup>p</sup> I 4,5:52,9–13 [Yajamāna]. In both cases, this serves as a preparatory rite for the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, which are obligatory for all the Āhitāgnis including the Rājanyas because they are put, at each new and full moon, into severe competition to seize the deities for the sacrifice.

### MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,12:81,11–15 [Agnyupasthāna]

*yajñóyajño vái sámṛchate. áthākasyavido manyante sóma evá sámṛchata iti. agnīśomīyāyāḥ purástād vihavyásya cátasrā́ j्ञco vadet. āgneyásya puroḍáśasya dvé yājyānuvākyē kuryāt. eténaivá ha-vínsy āsannāny abhímṛset. vṛṇktē 'nyásya yajñám, násyānyó yajñám vṛṇkte. sá yajñó<sup>40</sup> bhavaty áyajñā ítarah.*

Verily, each sacrifice (which continues one after another: *yajñóyajño*<sup>41</sup>) collides with each other. But those who know of nothing think that only the Soma Sacrifice collides with each other. Before the [stanza (*rc-*)] for Agni and Soma, [the Sacrificer] should recite four stanzas of the Vihavya-Sūkta. He should make [them, i.e. four Vihavya-stanzas] two (pairs of) Yājyā and Anuvākyā belonging to

40 Ed. Schroeder corrected mss. *sá yajñó* (M2, H, Bb) and *sá yajñò* (M1) to *sáyajño*, Ed. Sātavalekar *sá yajñó*. For the parallel MS<sup>p</sup> I 9,8:139,12f., cf. Amano 204 Anm. 375, 349 Anm. 1219.

41 The *āmređita*-compound *yajñóyajño* has here an iterative-successive as well as distributive function. As a *yajñá-* representative, the New and Full Moon Sacrifices are repeated at every new and full moon and continue after each other (iterative-successive). Since a number of sacrificers perform, at the same time, respectively the same sacrifice which must be attended by specified deities, each sacrifice of them (distributive) competes against each other for invitation of the deities. On various functions of *āmređita*-compound, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-2 “*kátham-katham...*” 232–252, esp. 252.

the pancake for Agni. Only in this way, he should touch the oblation set on [the altar]. He twists off for himself the sacrifice of other (sacrificer), other (sacrificer) does not twist off his sacrifice. Thus (*sá*) [his] sacrifice comes into effect (*bhavati*), the other [becomes] an ineffective sacrifice (*áyajñā*)<sup>42</sup>.

It is ambiguous in which occasion this Agnyupasthāna is performed. The *Agnīṣomīyā* seems to indicate the stanza (*ṛc-*: MS<sup>m</sup> I 5,1:67,3f. = RV I 93.1) treated in MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,10–12 (see 2.3.). Then the four Vihavya-stanzas are to be recited with the *Agnīṣomīyā* daily in the evening or/and morning of the former half-month, cf. MŚS I 6,2,1.6; ĀpŚS VI 16,5.7; 22,1. It is noteworthy that the *Aindrāgnī* stanza for the latter half-month (see 2.3.) is not mentioned. On the other hand, the latter half of the paragraph suggests that the Āhitāgni, uttering the Vihavya-stanzas, touches the Purodāśa for Agni put on the altar in the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, cf. MŚS I 4,1,17 ≈ ĀpŚS IV 8,6.

The Vihavya-stanza incorporated into the New and Full Moon Sacrifices is found also in the brāhamana on the sacrificer's duty:

#### **MS<sup>p</sup> I 4,5:52,9–13 [Yajamāna]**

*saṃṛtayajñó vā eṣā yád darśapūrūamāsáu. kásya vāha yakṣyámā-nasya devátā yajñám āgáchanti kásya vā ná bahūnám samānám áhar yájamānānām. yáh pūrvedyúr agním grhṇáti sá śvó bhūté devátā abhíyajate. <mámāgne várco vihavéṣv astv (MS<sup>m</sup> I 4,1:47, 1–2: Pratīka) iti pūrvam agním grhṇáti. devátā vā etát pūrvedyúr agrahīt. tāḥ śvó bhūté 'bhíyajate.*

In the case of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, this is verily a sacrifice collided with each other. Verily, of whom going to perform a sacrifice do the deities come to the sacrifice? Or of whom do [they] not [come to the sacrifice]? — among many sacrificers who perform the sacrifice on the same day. If [a sacrificer] grasps Agni on the preceding day, he performs the sacrifice toward the

42 For *áyajñā*- ‘sacrifice which is not valid, ineffective sacrifice’ against *ayajñā*- ‘having no sacrifice’, cf. Amano 204 Anm. 375, 178 Anm. 223. For the accent of privative *a*, cf. AiG II 1,80.

deities when it has become the next morning. “The illuminating power (competence for the ritual: *várcas-*), O Agni, be mine at the competitive calling [to the deities]! (MS<sup>m</sup> I 4,1:47,1f.: Pratīka = RV X 128,1)” thus uttering, [the sacrificer] grasps first (*pūrvam*) Agni.<sup>42a</sup> [That means:] He verily grasped the deities in this way on the preceding day. They are worshipped when it has become the next morning.

By grasping Agni, the sacrificer grasps all deities for the New and Full Moon Sacrifices. Therefore, at the beginning of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, the sacrificer recites the Vihavya-stanza (RV X 128,1) putting a fire-stick on the Āhavaniya fire,<sup>42b</sup> just before his declaration of the Vratopāyana ‘undertaking of the sacrificer’s duty’ on the Upavasatha-day.

Strangely, the four Vihavya-stanzas are included neither in the mantra collection, nor in the prose portion of the Agnyupasthāna in the MS. On the other hand, only the first of them appears in the mantra collection of Yajamāna (MS<sup>m</sup> I 4,1:47,1f.), and its pratīka in its prose portion (see above MS<sup>p</sup> I 4,5:52,9-13). This suggests that the Vihavya-stanzas for the New and Full Moon Sacrifices were introduced from the chapter on the Yajamāna into that on the Agnyupasthāna, in which the Vihavya-stanzas and the ancient rite of washing hands in the early morning were secondarily combined into the rite Prātaravanega in the MS<sup>p</sup>.

### 2.3. A half-monthly exchange of the mantras

**MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,10–12 (≈ KS<sup>p</sup> VII 5:66,13–18) [stanza for Agni-Soma and stanza for Indra-Agni]**

*agnīśomīyayā pūrvapakṣá upasthéyas. agnīśomīyo vāi pūrvapakṣò-  
aparapakṣāyaivaivānam páridadāty. aindrāgnyáparapakṣá upasthé-  
ya. aindrāgnó vā aparapakṣáh. pūrvapakṣāyaivānam páridadāti.*

42a Cf. Amano 140 “[Mit den Worten:] “Mir soll, Agni, … der Glanz gehören [usw.] führt er das **östliche** (*pūrvam*) Feuer (das Ā-Feuer) bei sich.”

42b Cf. MŚŚ I 4,1,7; KātyŚŚ II 1,2. The recitation of the Vihavya-stanza fails in the parallel TSP I 6,7,1f. The manner of putting fire-sticks on the sacrificial fires differs according to the YV-schools, cf. BaudhŚŚ III 15:85,8 and XX 1:3,4–4,5 [Dvaidhasūtra].

*sárvā ha vā enaṁ devátāḥ sampradāyam ánapekṣam gopāyanti yá evám vidván agním upatísthate.*

In the former half-month, [the fire] is to be paid homage to [by the Āhitāgni] with the stanza for Agni and Soma (*agnīṣomīyā-* [ṛc-] MS<sup>m</sup> I 5,1:67,3f. = RV I 93,1). The former half-month, verily, belongs to Agni and Soma (see n.44). [The former half-month] delivers<sup>43</sup> this one (Āhitāgni) to the very latter half-month as result. In the latter half-month, [the fire] is to be paid homage to [by the Āhitāgni] with the stanza for Indra and Agni (*aindrāgnī-* [ṛc-] MS<sup>m</sup> I 5,1:65,10f. = RV VI 60,13). The latter half-month, verily, belongs to Indra (as the sun) and Agni.<sup>44</sup> [The latter half-month] delivers this one (Āhitāgni) to the former half-month as result. If [an Āhitāgni] pays homage to his sacrificial fire, knowing in this way, all

43 Cf. Amano 186 “für die zweite Monatshälfte faß er (Opferherr) es (das Feuer) ein”, Anm. 270 “Das Aktiv *pári-dadāti* … bedeutet ‘faßt etwas (Akk.) ein’. In the KS steht das Verb mit Instrumental in der Bedeutung ‘mit etwas (Instr.) einfassen’ bzw. ‘mit etwas umgeben’ …”. In the MS as well as the KS, however, *pári-dadā-*<sup>ii</sup> is used with acc. and dat. in the meaning ‘deliver, überliefern’. From the structure of the last sentence, *enam* in the whole paragraph is considered as the Āhitāgni who pays homage to his fire. Amano 186 takes *enam* for *agni-* “das Feuer” with Anm. 273.

44 The former half-month in which the moon is waxing belongs to the Full Moon Sacrifice for which deities are Soma (the moon) and Agni, while the latter half-month in which the moon is waning belongs to the New Moon Sacrifice for which deities are Indra (the sun) and Agni, cf. KS<sup>p</sup> VII 5:66,13–15. The New and Full Moon Sacrifices are based on the astronomical knowledge of the movement of the sun and the moon in the Vedic period (e.g. RV X 55,5; X 85,18; ŚB I 6,4,18–20): the full moon is situated most remote from the sun which pursues the moon, while at the new moon, i.e. in conjunction of the sun and the moon, the sun swallows the moon and then throws it out, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2010 “Vedic calendar” 1125; 2016 “On the Prototype of the New Moon Sacrifice...” (in Japanese) 285f., forthcoming “On the Prototype of the new moon sacrifice ...” 2.1.3., 2.2., 2.3.

deities, verily, protect this (Āhitāgni), delivering in rotation (*sam-pradāyam*)<sup>45</sup> [from one half-month to another half-month], not looking aside (*ánapékṣam*, n.45).

The close relation of the Agnyupasthāna with the New and Full Moon Sacrifices is observed also here. The half-monthly exchange of the two stanzas, one for Agni and Soma and another for Indra and Agni, is considered as a preparatory invitation of deities for the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, just as the four Vihavya-stanzas to be recited before the stanza for Agni and Soma (see 2.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,12:81,11–15). Whether these two stanzas are recited in the morning Agnyupasthāna, i.e. Prātaravanega, or in the evening Agnyupasthāna is not clearly stated. The position of this paragraph after the Prātaravanega with the four Vihavya-stanzas in MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7 (see 2.2.) suggests the former case. In the KS which does not allow the morning Agnyupasthāna, they belong to the evening Agnyupasthāna.<sup>45a</sup>

### 3. The social classes of the Āhitāgni and the Agnihotrin

As a Śrautaritual, the Agnihotra has remarkable peculiarities:

1) The distinction between the sacrificer and the priest is ambiguous. The ritual act of offering the Agnihotra is expressed not by the verb *yaj* (active *yája*-*tī* ‘performs a sacrifice as priest’:: middle *yája*-*te* ‘performs a sacrifice for himself as Yajamāna’), but by *hu* [*juhó*-*tī*]: *agnihotrám juhóti* ‘offer the Agnihotra’. Since the verb *hu* inflects only in the active, it does not serve to determine by the voice whether the subject is a sacrificer or a priest. The agent of the verb *hu* [*juhó*-*tī*] used for *agnihotrá-* is usually not expressed in the early brāhmaṇa literature.

45 For the abs. -*am* (*sampradāyam*, *ánapékṣam*), cf. Gotō 143f.:3.8.5. with n.313.  
In these cases, the iterative-successive character is obvious.

45a Cf. ĀpŚS VI 16,5 (Agnīśomīyā or Aindrāgnī in the evening); 16,7 (four Vihavya-stanzas before Agnīśomīyā or Aindrāgnī in the evening); 22,1 (four Vihavya-stanzas before Agnīśomīyā in the morning); MŚS I 6,2,4 (Agnīśomīyā or Aindrāgnī in the evening); 6,2,5 (four Vihavya-stanzas before Agnīśomīyā in the evening).

Thus it is difficult to know from the text who offers the Agnihotra, a priest or an Āhitāgni (Agnihotrin/Yajamāna), see n.36, n.46.

Noteworthy is the frequent use of the first person singular of pronominal and verbal forms in the mantras for the Agnihotra as well as the Agnyupasthāna.

Considering that the Āhitāgni should perform the Agnyupasthāna by himself and recite precisely numerous formulas often taken from the RV, it is natural to suppose that, in origin, the learned Brahmin, probably a spiritual leader of a community, set up his sacrificial fires and offered by himself his Agnihotra, as priest as well as sacrificer (Agnihotrin/Yajamāna), with assistants for milking, cooking, ladling out, etc., see n.36. Later, it is common that the Agnihotra is offered not only by the Āhitāgni, but also by his deputy, such as his son, Vedic student (*brahmacārīn-*), or even another priest.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, the Āhitāgni is obliged to offer the Agnihotra by himself in the evening and morning

46 For this problem, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-2 “kátham-katham...” 243 Anm.

36. For example, ŚaḍvimśaB IV 1 13f. (Ed. Sharma V 1,13f.) *anyaih śata-hutān homān ekaḥ śisyahuto varam. | śiṣyaih śatahutān homān ekaḥ putra-huto varam. | putraiḥ śatahutān homān eko hy ātmahuto varam. ||* ‘One [offering] offered by [one’s] disciple is better than hundred offerings offered by others (i.e. priests). One [offering] offered by [one’s] son is better than hundred offerings offered by [one’s] disciples. One [offering] offered indeed by oneself is better than hundred offerings offered [one’s] sons.’; ĀpŚS VI 15, 14–16: 14. *aharahaṁ yajamānaḥ svayam agnihotram juhuyāt.* ‘Day by day, the sacrificer should offer the Anihotra by himself.’ 15. *parvaṇi vā.* ‘Or [he should offer the Agnihotra by himself] at knot time (i.e. at sunset and sunrise of the new and full moon nights).’ 16. *brahmacārī vā juhuyād. brahmaṇā hi sa parikṛīto bhavati. kṣīrahotā vā juhuyād. dhanena hi sa parikṛīto bhavatīti bahvycabrahmaṇam.* ‘Or [his] Vedic student (*brahmacārīn-*) should offer, for he is considered to have been purchased by (in exchange of) the sacred word (i.e. Veda: *brahman-*). Or [his] priest for milk-offering (*kṣīrahotr-*) should offer, for he is considered to have been purchased by means of property. Thus [teaches] the Brāhmaṇa belonging to the RV.’

at the new and full moon<sup>47</sup> and for the twelve (or thirteen) nights after the setting up his sacrificial fires.<sup>47a</sup>

2) All formulas for the Agnihotra are missing in the mantra collections of the Black YV (see 1., n.7). The Agnihotra itself with a few formulas is treated in the prose portion of the Black YV; however, not in the TS<sup>p</sup>, but TB<sup>p</sup> in the Taittirīya School (see n.8). In the White YV, the Agnihotra is treated both in the VS and the ŚB (see n.10). The mantras are included also in the SV (see 1., n.9). This uneven treatment of the Agnihotra in the YV presents a great contrast to the Agnyupasthāna, see n.7. The peculiarity of the formulas for the Agnihotra suggests its relatively late integration into the Śrauta-ritual system.

3) Another peculiarity is the absence of preparatory consecration rites such as the Upavasatha for the New and Full Moon Sacrifices or

47 At the new moon, the oblation of Agnihotra is not milk but *yavāgū-* ‘cereals (esp. unpolished grains of barley or rice) boiled in water’ because milk is reserved in order to make *dadhi*- ‘sour milk’ for Sāmnāyya offering in the New Moon Sacrifice: ĀpŚS I 11,1, BhārŚS I 11,9, MānŚS I 1,3,8; cf. ŚB I 7,1,10 (the offerer is not clear). Notwithstanding EWAia II 404 (s.v. *yáva*) “eine Brühe aus Milch und Reiskörnern”, Hoffmann II 480 “Körnermilchbrei” with Anm. 7 “vielleicht eine (ungekochte?) Milchspeise, in die irgendwelche Getreidekörner eingerührt waren”, *yavāgū-* is a cooked food which does not contain milk: KS<sup>p</sup> VI 3:52,12f. *yadi payo na vinded yavāgvā juhuyāt. tad dhi pratiṣekyāṁ śāntam mithunam paśavyam āpaś ca taṇḍulāś ca* ‘If one cannot obtain milk, one should offer [the Agnihotra] by *yavāgū-*. Water (*āpas*) and unpolished grains of rice or barley (*taṇḍulās*), they (*tad*: congruent to *mithunam*) are namely a pair which is to be besprinkled (with water when it is boiling), calmed and suitable for cattle.’ *yavāgū-* is considered as coarse (*krūrā-*) food (TS<sup>p</sup> VI 2,5,2); it is also made from *jartila-* ‘a kind of sesame’ or *gavīdhuka-* ‘Coix barbata’ (TS<sup>p</sup> V 4,3,2). For the Āgrayāya sacrifice, the sacrificer may offer the evening and morning Agnihotra with *yavāgū-* made of new grains, cf. KauṣB IV 14 (Ed. Sharma IV 10,6).

47a Cf. ŚB XI 1,7,3f. ; ĀpŚS V 22,10–23,3 (esp. V 22,13; V 23,3); KātyŚS IV 15,34f. Cf. further Krick 458f., 468.

the Apsudīkṣa and the Dīkṣā for the Soma Sacrifice. Repeating the offering at sunset and sunrise, the Agnihotrin must fulfill his sacrificial duties (*vratá-*) without interruption (see 4.1., 4.2., 5.).<sup>47b</sup>

As a sacrifice which controls the cosmic order (*ṛtā-*) and the truth (*satyā-*) (see 1.1., 4.1.), the Agnihotra bears especial importance. It is therefore a lifelong and indispensable obligation of the Āhitāgni, who has set up his sacred fires for the Śrauta rituals.<sup>48</sup> This offering is considered, on the one hand, to bring forth to the Agnihotrin offspring and cattle in this world (see 1.2. ŚB II 3,1,1–5, n.48 ŚB-M II 3,1,13), and, on the other hand, to effect his attainment of heaven after death, and further, of immortality (*amṛta-*) in heaven. Dealing with the process of birth, death, re-birth and re-dying, the discussions on the Agnihotra, in which intellectual kings such as Janaka played important roles (see

47b For the concrete duties of the Āhitāgni, cf. Krick 461, 464, 465.

48 All other Śrauta rituals come to an end. Even the New and Full Moon Sacrifices are completed in 30 years (= 360 nights and days = *sāṁvatsarā-* ‘a perfect year’ = immortality), cf. ŚB XI 1,2,10–13. But the Agnihotra continues until the Āhitāgni dies, cf. MS<sup>P</sup> I 8,7:126; TB<sup>P</sup> II 1,4,9; ŚB-M II 3,1,13 *tád āhuh / sám evānyé yajñás tisṭhante, 'gnihotrám evá ná sáṃtiṣṭhaté-. ḥpi dvādaśasām̄vatsarám ántavad evā-. ḥtha etád evānantám. sāyám hi hutvá vēda prātár hoṣyām̄ti prātár hutvá veda púnah sāyám hoṣyām̄ti. tád etád ánupasthitam agnihotrám. tásyānupasthitim ánv ánupasthitā imāḥ prajāḥ prájāyanté-. ḥnupasthito ha vái śriyā́ prajáyā́ prájāyate, yá evám etád ánupasthitam agnihotrám vēda.* ‘[The Brahmin scholars] say with this regard: “The other rituals come certainly to an end. Only the Agnihotra does not come to an end. Even the ritual for twelve years (e.g. a long-termed Sattra) has indeed an end. But only this (Agnihotra) has no end. The reason is that, having offered [the Agnihotra] in the evening, [the Agnihotrin] knows “I am going to offer in the next morning” and that, having offered in the morning, [he] knows “I am going to offer again in the evening”. Therefore, in this way, the Agnihotra is not stopped (*ánupasthita-*). According to its being unstopped, the living beings here on the earth, being unstopped, reproduce themselves by descendants. Being unstopped, verily, one reproduces oneself by descendants with prosperity, if one knows in this way the unstopped Agnihotra.” For the fut. (*prātár, sāyám*) *hoṣyāmi* with a purely prospective function, cf. 4.2.

**n.88**), contributed to the formation of the theory of transmigration, namely “the Five-Fire-Doctrine” in the Brāhmaṇas, which was later combined with the “Two-Way-Doctrine” in the Upaniṣads (see 8., **n.88, n.89**).

The setting up of the Śrauta fires is permitted to the three upper classes: the Brahmin (the priest class), Rājanya or Kṣatriya (the military and governing class) and the Vaiśya (the third class). If an Āhitāgni is not Brahmin, a Brahmin priest offers his Agnihotra.

Strangely enough, though there are exceptions, it is forbidden for the priest to offer the Agnihotra of an Āhitāgni who is a Rājanya in the earliest stratum of the brāhmaṇa-literature, i.e., the prose portion of the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā (see 4.1., 4.2.), the Kāthaka-Samhitā (see 5.) and the Kapiṣṭhalā-Kātha-Samhitā (see 5.). Thereafter, this prohibition disappears in the brāhmaṇas. Of the Śrautasūtras, which were composed much later (about the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE), four texts contain similar restrictions on the Agnihotra of the Rājanya (see 6.).

#### 4. The Agnihotra of the Rājanya in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā

The Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā discusses most ardently the Agnihotra of the Rājanya and gives two different arguments, one in the chapter on Agnihotra (see 4.1.) and another in the chapter on Ādhāna ‘Setting up the Śrauta fires’ (see 4.2.). A deep concern about this matter is expressed in the sentence common to the both: *hotavyāṁ rājanyāsyāgnihotrā̄3n ná hotavyā̄3m íti mīmāṁsante.*

##### 4.1. MS<sup>P</sup> I 8,7:126,17–127,4 [Agnihotra]

*hotavyāṁ rājanyāsyāgnihotrā̄3n ná hotavyā̄3m íti mīmāṁsanta.  
āmād iva vā eṣā yád rājanyō. bahú vā eṣō 'yajñiyám amedhyám  
caraty. <sup>+</sup>áttv<sup>49</sup> anannám. jināti brāhmaṇám. tásmađ rājanyāsyāg-  
nihotrám ahotavyām. ṛtám vái satyám agnihotrám. brāhmaṇá*

---

49 Ed. Schroeder *atyanannám*; correction according to Mittwede 64, Caland 1990, 243; 1921, 195f. note to ĀpŚ VI 15,10, Bodewitz 1976, 116, 118 n.8. Cf. MS<sup>P</sup> II 1,2: 2,18 (*anannám átti*).

*ṛtāṁ satyāṁ. tasmād brāhmaṇāśyaivā hotavyām. átho brāhmaṇā-yaivāsyāgratō grhā áhareyus. tād dhutām evāsyāgnihotrām bha-vaty. átho yá ṛtām iva satyām iva cāret tāsyā hotavyām. anusāṁ-tatyai.*

‘Is the Agnihotra of<sup>50</sup> the Rājanya to be offered [by the Brahmin priest]? [Is it] not to be offered?’ Thus ponder [Brahmin scholars]. In the case that (*yád*)<sup>51</sup> [one] is Rājanya, this [one] is indeed just (*iva*)<sup>52</sup> an eater of raw (uncooked) [food].<sup>53</sup> This [one] does many

50 Though the agent of the *grdv.* is usually expressed by the gen., here is a possessive gen. *rājanyāsya*, which indicates the person to whom the act and the effect of the Agnihotra belong. For the effect of the sacrifice (*iṣṭā-*), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-1, 475–490. The agent of *hotavyām* is a Brahmin priest in this case, see **6.2.A.** ĀpŚS VI 15,10 and **B.** HirŚS III 7,19.

51 *yád* has an adverbial function ‘in the case that~, when’, see **n.64**. Differently Amano 313 “Ein rājanya, **das** ist einer, der rohes Fleisch ißt” with Anm.1027 “Das Relativpronomen kongruiert nicht mit dem Prädikatsnomen *rājanyās*, weil *rājanyās* als Gattungsbegriff gilt...”. For “rohes Fleisch” (*āmā-*), see **n.53**.

52 In this paragraph, it is not easy to determine the function of *iva*: similarity, approximation, equivalence, focalization, stress, emphasis, etc. The function of focalization seems most probable, cf. JB I 23 (Vājasaneyā’s word) *satyam ity eva samrād aham agnihotram juhomi. tasmād aham satyam asmi. tasmān mama satyam iva vadataḥ parakāśah* ‘[Thinking] indeed [that the Agnihotra controls] the truth, I offer the Agnihotra. For this reason, I control (below and **n.56, n.57**) the truth. For this reason, I have fame as one who is speaking **just (iva)** the truth’. For *iva*, cf. Schrapel 57 “(kontingental =) ausnahmslos”, Oertel 15 (: 21), Minard 285 (: 783), Bodewitz 1990, 256f. n.23, 261 n.27, 269 n.1, etc.; further Gotō 2013, 150 “*iva* ‘just like’ (in Ved. prose predominantly ‘just’)” with n.333.

53 It matters to distinguish between two kinds of food, namely the ‘raw’ (*āmā-*) and the ‘not raw’. The latter is artificially cooked or processed food for the civilized human beings and suitable for oblation to the gods in the rituals. On the contrary, the ‘raw’ (*āmā-*) is food for the wild beings and expressed *anannā-* ‘what is not food (not to be eaten by the Agnihotrin)’ in the following sentence. Cf. Bodewitz 1976, 116 “The ksatriya is someone who eats raw meat as it were.”; Amano 313 “Ein rājanya, das ist einer, der **rohes Fleisch** ißt” (see **n.51**).

things that are not proper for the worship (*yajñá-*), not proper for the sacrifice (*médha-*). [He] eats what is not food (not to be eaten by the Agnihotrin, see n.53). [He] robs the Brahmin. For this reason, the Agnihotra of the Rājanya is not to be offered [by the priest]. **The Agnihotra controls** (*idám bhū* construction, see below and n.56, n.57, 4.2.) **the cosmic order** (*ṛtá-*), **the truth** (*satyá-*). **The Brahmin controls** (*idám bhū* construction) **the cosmic order** (*ṛtá-*), **the truth** (*satyá-*). For this reason, [the Agnihotra] only of the Brahmin is to be offered. And then [people in the house of the Rājanya] should offer [a meal] to the very Brahmin first (of all members) in his house (see 5.). His Agnihotra is thus considered indeed to have been offered. And then, if [a Rājanya] behaves just (*iva*, see n.52) according to the cosmic order (*ṛtá-*), just (*iva*, see n.52) according to the truth (*satyá-*), his [Agnihotra] is to be offered. For the continuity (*anusáṁtatyai*) [of his sacrifice, see below].

This passage shows clearly the Brahmin's hatred and contempt for the Rājanya, who lives brutally and plunders the Brahmin.<sup>54</sup> The Agnihotra is a sacrifice par excellence which controls the cosmic order (*ṛtá-*) and the truth (*satyá-*), for which only the Brahmin is qualified and from which the Rājanya should be excluded, with the exception of the Rājanya who behaves, like the Brahmin, according to the cosmic order and the truth.

On the other hand, the essential meaning of the Agnihotra consists in offering a meal, represented by milk, to the Āhavanīya fire before people eat in the residence (composed of several huts, *grha-* pl., see n.22) of the Āhitāgni at every mealtime, in the evening and the morning (see 1.3., 2.1.). Now the Brahmin is considered as a human god Agni and equated with the sacred fire (see 5.). Therefore, offering a meal to a Brahmin before all others in the residence substitutes the Agnihotra (see 5., 6.1., 6.2., 7.). This act seems to be based on the premise that a

---

54 Cf. AV V 18 and 19, both called Brahmagavī, i.e. collection of stanzas putting a curse on those who plunder the Brahmin's cow. For the Brahmins' grudge against the Rājanya, see 8. Summary.

Brahmin lives in the residence of the Rājanya who has set up his Śrauta fires (see 4.2., 5.).

This paragraph also reveals the intention of the Brahmin to put himself above the Rājanya and to monopolize power over the universe. The key to the comprehension of the text is the “*idám bhū construction*” of the two sentences (127,1): *ṛtám vái satyám agnihotrám* ‘the Agnihotra controls the cosmic order (*ṛtá-*), the truth (*satyá-*)’ and *brāhmaṇá ṛtám satyam* ‘the Brahmin controls the cosmic order (*ṛtá-*), the truth (*satyá-*).’<sup>55</sup> The “*idám bhū construction*”, composed of the verb *as* ‘exist’ or *bhū* ‘come into existence’ and its ‘accusative of content (Inhaltsakkusativ)’ of a neutral noun or pronoun (*idám* [alone or with *sárvam*], *adás*, *etát sárvam*, *etáni sárvāni*, etc.) usually in the sg., is used to express ‘have jurisdiction over ~, have charge of ~, have control of ~, control, rule, govern, dominate, etc.’ or ‘get jurisdiction over ~, take charge of ~, take control of ~, come to control/rule/govern/dominate, etc.’<sup>56</sup> The verb *as* is omitted in the above-mentioned sentences. The

55 These sentences are considered each as three nominatives to be supplied with a copula in Amano 314 “Das Agnihotra **ist** die wahre Ordnung, die Wahrheit; die Wahre Ordnung, die Wahrheit **ist** der Brahmane.”

56 This construction is used chiefly for expressions with regard to juristic matters or social rules and goes back to Proto-Indo-Iranian. The meaning ‘have/get jurisdiction over, have/take charge of, have/take control of, (come to) control/rule/govern/dominate, etc.’ is supposed to come directly from the combination of the verb *as* ‘exist (dasein)’ or *bhū* ‘come into existence (entstehen)’ [not ‘be’ or ‘become (werden)’ as copula] with the acc. which designates concretely the verbal content. It is not necessary to assume an elliptical expression to which a word such as *kṣatrám* or *rāstrám* has to be supplied (cf. K. Hoffmann, see below). The verb *as* is often omitted. Noteworthy is the suppletion of the verbs *as* and *bhū* (*as* for the pres. and the perf. :: *bhū* for all the other formations). For analysis, origin and examples of this construction (“für etw. zuständig sein/werden; über etw. herrschen/herrschen werden, etw. innehaben/ innehaben werden”), see Gotō 2008 115–125. The “*idám bhū construction*” in the sense “die Herrschaft hier, d.h. in dieser Welt, erlangen” was first remarked by K. Hoffmann 557–559 “Ved. *idam bhū*”: according to the inherited phrase ved. *rāstrám bhū* and jav. *xśaθrəm bū*, “eine elliptische Ausdrucksweise” was assumed; *idám* was supposed to be

construction is clearer in the second example: the nom. *brāhmaṇá(s)* ‘controls’ the acc. *ṛtám* ‘the cosmic order’ and *satyam* ‘the truth’.<sup>57</sup> The first sentence is constructed on the same pattern: the nom. *agnihotráṁ* ‘controls’ the acc. *ṛtám* ‘the cosmic order’ and *satyam* ‘the truth’. Thus, these sentences declare that only the Brahmin who controls the cosmic order and the truth is qualified for the Agnihotra which controls the cosmic order and the truth.

The last sentence refers to the exceptional case of the Rājanya who behaves according to the cosmic order and the truth. In this case, the Rājanya’s Agnihotra is to be offered daily by the Brahmin for ‘continuity’ (*anusáṃtatyai*). Of which continuity it matters is not clear and various interpretations are possible: 1) ‘the continuity of the sacrificer’s offspring’, which is one of the purposes of the Agnihotra, see 1.2., 3., n.48 ŚB-M II 3,1,13; 2) ‘the continuity of the sacrifice (*yajñá-*)’, which is indispensable for the efficacy of the sacrifice, see 1.3. ŚB II 3,1,9, n.23, 4.2. MS I 6,10:103,4; 3) ‘the continuity of the sacrificer’s duty (*vrata-*)’, see 5. KSp VI 6:56,1–4 ≈ KpSp IV 5,7. Considering the close affinity of this text with 4.2. MS I 6,10:103,4, the second interpretation ‘the continuity of the sacrifice (*yajñá-*)’ is most probable. Amano 314 “[das dient] zur fortgesetzten Verbindung (von der wahren Ordnung

“prädikativer Nominativ”. The interpretations of the “*idám bhū* construction” proposed in Amano 39–43 (2.1.5. ‘Die sogenannte “*idám bhū*”-Konstruktion’) are not relevant. Further examples of “*idám bhū* construction” treated in this paper are: 1.1. with n.6 MS<sup>P</sup> I 8,5:120,21–121,1 *bhúr bhúvah svāḥ* || *iti* ... *etád vā bráhmai-*. *etát satyám. etád ṛtám*; 1.2. ŚB II 3,1,1 *súryo ha vā agnihotráṁ*; 4.2. MS<sup>P</sup> I 6,10:102,6f. *adá evásā ábhūd, idám ahám* and 15f. *adá evásā ... bhavisyáti*; see n.52, n.57 JB I 23f.

57 Similar expressions with “*idám bhū* construction” are found in JB I 23f. [Agnihotra] (see n.52) *aham yaśo ’smi ... aham satyam asmi ... aham bhūyiṣṭham śreṣṭham vittānām asmi ... aham tejo ’smi* ‘[Goutama (Āruṇi) said:] ... I dominate the fame ... [Vājasaneyā (Yājñavalkya) said:] ... I dominate the truth ... [Barku Vārsṇa (Āgniveṣya) said:] ... I dominate the most abundant and excellent of those which have been acquired (wealth) ... [Priya Jānaśruteya (Kāṇḍvīya) said:] ... I dominate the radiance (dignity)’, cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2007, 205 (: 6.4.) with n.106; 2015, 34f. (: 5.3.).

[*ṛtá-*] und der Wahrheit [*satyá-*])” is not plausible, because *ṛtá-* and *satyá-* are eternal by nature and continue independently of the Rājanya’s Agnihotra.

#### 4.2. MS<sup>P</sup> I 6,10:102,6–103,4 [Ādhāna (setting up the sacrificial fires)]

[102,6–13] *agnír vái sṛṣṭáḥ prajápater ádhy údakrāmat. sá prajá-patir abibhed. adá evásá ábhūd, idám ahám íti. tásmin anuniṣ-krámyājuhot. ... dhávīṁsy evá púrvāṇi nirúpyātha sāyám agnihotrám juhuyāt || agnír jyótir jyótir agníḥ sváhā || íti. tát sāyám jyótiṣā réto madhyató dadhāti || súryo jyótir jyótih súryaḥ sváhā || íti prá-tas.<sup>58</sup> tát sāyám jyótiṣā réto madhyató hitám prátáḥ prajanayām akar.<sup>59</sup>*

Verily, the fire, having been emitted from Prajāpati, strode out. Then Prajāpati feared: ‘that yonder one (*asáu*)<sup>60</sup> has come to

58 Ed. Schroeder does not close the sentence after *íti prá-tas*.

59 Ed. Schroeder put || after *hitám*.

60 It is not clear what *asáu* m. ‘that yonder (one)’ and *adás* nt.‘ the yonder (world)’ concretely mean in this sentence. If *asáu* designates simply fire, this is supposed to be the freely burning and moving wild fire, and *adás* means the wildness on the earth far away from Prajāpati. If *asáu* designates the sun in the sky into which the escaped fire has turned, *adás* means the yonder world in heaven. In any case, Prajāpati pursued the escaping fire and offered the Agnihotra, driven by necessity to ensure his control over this world against the yonder (fire/sun) which has already come to dominate the yonder world. Taking into account the common contrast between *adás* ‘the yonder world in heaven’ and *idám* ‘this world on earth’, Prajāpati’s strong fear of losing sovereignty and the following Agnihotra-mantras which compare the sun and the fire, it seems me more natural to consider *asáu* as ‘that yonder sun into which the fire has turned’ and *adás* as ‘the yonder world in heaven’. Differently Amano 247 (*asáu* “Agni dort”, *adás* “das [Ganze] dort”), see n.61. The notion that the sun in heaven is paired with the fire on earth is common in the brāhmaṇas, especially of Agnihotra, Agnyupasthāna, Agnyādhāna, e.g. n.32 MS<sup>P</sup> I 5,5:73,11–13 [Agnyupasthāna]. On the other hand, *asáu* ‘that yonder one’ in the next paragraph is applied not to the sun, but to Indra. For equation of Indra with the sun(-light), see 1.1. SV II 1181 (II 9,2,8,1), n.9, n.32.

**rule** (*ábhūd*: root-aor., “*idám bhū* construction”) **that yonder world [in heaven]: adás**, **I [rule]**: “*idám bhū* construction”] **this here (this world [on earth]: idám)**.<sup>61</sup> After having strode out after [that yonder one], He (Prajāpati) poured [a libation] into that. ... After having drawn out (from the wagon, cooked and offered) the very preceding grain-oblations, then in the evening, [the Āhi-tāgni] should offer the Agnihotra uttering “*agnír jyótir jyótir agníh sváhā*” (see 1.1., n.10). Thus, in the evening, [he] places the [sun’s] semen with the light (jyótiṣ-) in the middle (of the formula). [He offers the Agnihotra uttering] “*súryo jyótir jyótiḥ súryah sváhā*” in the morning (see 1.1., n.10). Thus, [he] has made the [sun’s] semen, placed in the evening in the middle with the light, be born in the morning (s. 1.2.).

[102,13–19] *devāś ca vā ásurāś ca sámyattā ásann, áthéndro 'gním ádhatta. té devā abibhayur. adá evāśá agním gopāyámāno 'gnihotrám gopāyámāno bhaviṣyáti, ná nā úpaiṣyaty. abhí no jes-yantíti. tè 'bruvan. yád evá tvám kím ca karávo yád dhánā yáj jinā yád vindásai tát te 'gnihotrám kurmó-. áthehítí. sá vā áit. tásmād rājanýasyāgnihotrám ahotavyàm. yád hy èváisá kím ca karóti yád dhánti yáj jináti yád vindáte yád enám víśa upatiṣṭhante tát rājan-yásyāgnihotrám.*<sup>62</sup>

The Devas and the Asuras were, verily, facing each other (in the battlefield); and yet, Indra set up his (sacrificial) fire. Then the Devas were afraid: **‘that yonder one (asáu: Indra), guarding his fire for himself, guarding his Agnihotra for himself, is going to rule (fut. *bhaviṣyáti*, “*idám bhū* construction”) that very yonder**

61 Amano 247: “Das [Ganze] dort ist dem (Agni) dort [zur Verfügung] gestanden, das [Ganze] hier mir” is based on Hoffmann’s “*idám bhū* construction” as an elliptical expression, see 4.1., n.56, 4.2., n.63.

62 Ed. Schroeder closes the sentence not here, but after the following *hotavyàm* which belongs to the next sentence, see 4., 4.1. Tichy 173f. (191) follows Ed. Schroeder, see n.64.

**(world [in heaven]: *adás*)**,<sup>63</sup> [he] is not going to approach us (to serve us) (fut. *úpaisyati*). [The Asuras] are going to overwhelm us (fut. *jeṣyanti*.) They (the Devas) said [to Indra]: ‘Just when (*yád*) you will do (subj. pres. *karávas*) something (*kím ca*), when you will kill (hyper-marked subj. pres. *hánās*), when you will rob (subj. pres. *jinás*), when you will find for yourself (obtain) (subj. pres. *vindásai*), we make (indic. pres. *kurmás*) that your Agnihotra.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, go<sup>65</sup> [to the battlefield]!’ [Thus told,] he (Indra) went

63 Amano 248 (with Anm.636) “Das [ganze] dort wird dem dort (Indra) [zur Verfügung] stehen” supplies *sarvám* to *adás* according to Hoffmann’s interpretation of “*idám bhū construction*” as an elliptical expression, see n.56, n.61. Fundamentally different is Tichy 117 (: 96): “Da fürchteten die Götter: **dorthin wird sich jener dort zurückziehen** und sein Feuer hüten, sein Agnihotra hüten...” with Anm. 122 which refers to Krick 420 “Die Götter fürchteten: **Er wird dort (daheim) bleiben**, indem er dauernd sein Feuer und das Agnihotra (d.i. dessen kontinuierliche Darbringung) behütet”; both probably based on Delbrück 42 “**dort wird jener** sein Feuer bewachend und das Feueropfer bewachend **verweilen**.<sup>66</sup>

64 *yád* in the clauses with *karávas/karóti* is open to two interpretations: 1) relative pron. (acc. sg. nt.) combined with *kím ca* ‘whatever’ (cf. Delbrück 570); 2) conjunction (relative adv.) ‘when, if’ (see n.51) independent from an indefinite pron. *kím ca* ‘something, anything’ (cf. Goto 2013, 74 [2.2.3., 2.2.4.], AiG III 571 [§259 D γ]). On the other hand, *yád* is a conjunction (relative adv.) in the clauses with *hánas/hánti, jinás/jináti, vindásai/vindáte, enám ví-sá upatíṣṭhante*, which explain the preceding clauses *yád ... karávas/karóti* by enumerating concrete activities of Indra or the Rājanya, but not necessarily in temporal order. Cf. Amano Anm. 642 “Vier adverbiale Nebensätze mit *yád ...* dienen zur Angabe des Zeitraums. Die beschriebenen Handlungen drücken den Prozeß der Beherrschung aus.”; Tichy 174 “Was auch immer er schafft, wenn er tötet, wenn er raubt, wenn er etwas bekommt, **weil** die Untertanen an ihm herantreten, das soll man für einen Rājanya als Agnihotra darbringen” (based on Ed. Schroeder, see n.62).

65 ’*thehíti* = **átha + ihi + íti**. Tichy 174 : (191) “so komme!” (with Anm.245) and Amano 249 “also komm!” (with Anm. 640) are based on **”théhíti (átha + á + ihi + íti)** conjectured by M. Albino. From the context, it is clear that the Devas went by themselves to the place where Indra had set up his fire, far away from the battlefield, in order to persuade him to fight. The simplex

[to the battlefield]. For this reason, the Agnihotra of the Rājanya is not to be offered, for, just when (*yád*) he does (indic. pres. *karótī*) something (*kím ca*), when he kills (indic. pres. *hánti*), when he robs (indic. pres. *jinātī*), when he finds for himself (obtains, indic. pres. *vindátē*), when people attend (indic. pres. *upatíṣṭhante*) him, that is the Agnihotra of the Rājanya (see n.62, n.64).

[102,19–103,4] *hotavyām rājanyāsyāgnihotrā3n ná hotavyā3m íti mīmāṁsante.* *yád dhutvā ná juhuyād vī yajñām chindyāj.* *jīyéta vā prá vā mīyeta.* *paurṇamāśīm amāvāsyām vā práti hotavyām.* *átho agnyupasthānam +vācayitavyas.*<sup>66</sup> *ténāsyā darśapūrṇamāsáu sámītatā ávichinnau bhavataḥ.*

‘Is the Agnihotra of (see n.50) the Rājanya to be offered [by the Brahmin priest]? [Is it] not to be offered?’ Thus ponder [Brahmin scholars]. If [the Rājanya] would offer [the Agnihotra] and then not offer, he would cut asunder [the continuity of] the sacrifice. He would be defeated (*jīyéta*)<sup>67</sup> or diminish. Towards the full moon night or the new moon night (*amāvāsyā-*),<sup>68</sup> (i.e. at sunset and sunrise of both the nights, see n.4), [the Agnihotra of the Rājanya] is to be offered. And further, [the Rājanya] is to be made recite (*vācayitavyas*)<sup>69</sup> (the Mantras for) the Agnyupasthāna (see 2.) [by the priest between both the nights]. By this means, his New and Full Moon Sacrifices become continued [and] not cut asunder.

*ihi* ‘go [to the battlefield]’ is suitable for this situation and not to be changed to *éhi* (*á + ihi*) ‘come [to us]’.

66 Ed. Schroeder: *vā cayitavyāḥ*.

67 *jīyá-te* ‘be deprived of’ (fientive-intrans. of the root *jī/jyā*) is used here as passive of *jáya-ti* ‘win, conquer, defeat’. For these verbs cf. Gotō 1987, 150.

68 This word means with *rātrī-/rātri-* or alone ‘the night in which the moon stays at home and completely disappears in the nocturnal sky’ because of the conjunction of the sun and the moon.

69 = ĀpŚrSū VI 15,12 (4.2.); cf. Delbrück 105, 226, Mittwede 58, Bodewitz 118 n.14. Since the performance of the Agnyupasthāna is obligatory for the continuity of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices, the assumption of Krick 421 Anm.1129 “*vā vāca*° Haplographie” (*vā* ‘or, optionally’) is not to be accepted.

This chapter explains the way how to offer the first Agnihotra after setting up one's sacrificial fires. After a short reference to the myth on the origin of the Agnihotra (see 1.1., n.11), it prescribes to offer the first Agnihotra, not immediately after setting up the fires (i.e. in the daytime), but in the evening and then next morning. Introducing the mantras for evening and morning offerings, it explained that the evening offering is setting sun's semen into the fire and that the morning one is delivering the sun from the fire, see 1.2., n.15a.

Then an episode is related in which Indra had set up his sacrificial fire and was about to offer his Agnihotra by himself, having left the battlefield in the midst of the war between the Devas and the Asuras. It is remarkable that Indra is not reckoned among the Devas, but as a brave hero who represents the warriors. The Devas cannot conquer the Asuras without Indra's help. His daily offering of the Agnihotra signifies his independence from the Devas who represent the priesthood. Indra no longer needed the Devas for his rituals. And the observance of the duties (*vratá-*) as Agnihotrin (see 3., n.47b, n.48) hindered him from fighting for the Devas. In order to retain Indra as their warrior, the Devas proclaim that whatever Indra will do shall be equivalent with the Agnihotra. Based upon this episode, the Rājanya is prohibited from the Agnihotra, while all their acts — battle, plunder, governance — are considered as the Agnihotra. This argument reveals the Brahmins' fear that they will be deprived of religious superiority and that the Rājanya will no longer serve the Brahmin as their obedient warrior.

From a grammatical point of view, the “*idám bhū* construction” (see 4.1., n.56, n.57) plays an important role also here: 1) *adá evásá ábhūd* ‘that yonder one (*asáu*) has come to rule that yonder (world in heaven)’; 2) *idám ahám* ‘I [rule] this here (this world on earth)’; 3) *adá evásá ... bhaviṣyáti* ‘that yonder one (Indra) ... is going to rule that very yonder (world in heaven)’. *idám* and *adás* are both considered as acc. of content (Inhaltsakkusativ) of the verb *bhū* ‘come into existence’, hence ‘get jurisdiction over, take charge of, take control of, come to rule, etc.’

Noteworthy are the functions of subjunctive, future and indicative present in the second paragraph. The fut. [*bhavīṣyāti, úpāsyati, jes-yanti*] has a purely prospective function. On the other hand, the subj. [*hánās, jinás, vindásai*] in the subordinate clause have a special sort of prospective function to express the matter which may happen **at any time** and **any times** in the endless future; as a result, the subj. with this function approaches the indic. pres. or injunctive with the “generelle (general)” or “außerzeitliche (timeless)” function in the RV.<sup>70</sup> In accordance with this subj., the indic. pres. [*kurmas*] in the main clause is used for the promise which is valid independently of time (‘any time, always’).<sup>71</sup> The same function of timeless validity is to be recognized also in the indic. pres. [*karóti, hánti, jináti, vindáte*] in the succeeding sentence.

In the last part of the paragraph, scholars are faced with the problem of continuity of the sacrifice, which is referred to also at the end of 4.1. (Agnihotra brähmaṇa). Once a man has set up his sacred fires, he is obliged to continue the fundamental rituals, such as Agnihotra and New and Full Moon Sacrifices (see 3., n.48). If he interrupts them, all the merits accumulated by him shall come to naught and he shall go to ruin (see 1.3., n.23). Now, it is not easy for the Rājanya who engages himself in war and expedition to offer fresh milk at every sunset and sunrise all his life without interruption.<sup>72</sup> For this reason, the Rājanya who is an

70 Cf. Doyama 61 (in Japanese). This is the reason why indic. pres. *kurmas* with the function of timeless validity is used in the main sentence, see n.71. On the other hand, Delbrück 320, Tichy 173–175 and Amano 249 recognize a simple prospective function in these subj.; Krick 420 translate them inconsistently (as prospective or voluntative subj., and as present).

71 Cf. Tichy 173ff. (: 2.6.1.2.), 210 (: 3.1.3.3.), 309f. (: 3.5.2.3.); e.c. 309 “... eine feste, vom Zeitpunkt der Äußerung an gültige Zusage ... die sofortige Gültigkeit der Aussage ...”; similarly Amano p.249 Anm.69 “das dient zur Bekräftigung der Gültigkeit der geäußerten Verabredung”.

72 This situation of the Rājanya underlies the discussion on the oblation for the Agnihotra between Yajñavalkya and King Janaka transmitted in ŚB-M XI 3,1, ŚB-K III 1,4, JB I 19f. and VādhAnv II 13, see Sakamoto-Gotō 2008 “The Ultimate Agnihotra” 477f. (: 3.).

Āhitāgni is required to offer his Agnihotra only at sunset and sunrise of the new and full moon nights (see **n.4, 5, 6.1., 6.2., 7.**), as a part of the New and Full Moon sacrifices, and to perform the Agnyupasthāna (see **2.**) instead of the Agnihotra between both the nights. In this way, the continuity of his New and Full Moon Sacrifices is assured.

With regard to the Agnyupasthāna required here, three questions arise: 1) Why is *vācayitavyas* (gerundive of causative verb) ‘to be made recited’ used instead *vācyas* (grdv. of simple verb) ‘to be recited’? 2) What kind of Agnyupasthāna should be performed? 3) How is it possible that the Agnyupasthāna assures the continuity of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices?

As mentioned above **2.**, the Agnyupasthāna is performed not by a priest, but by the Āhitāgni himself. The Rājanya in the early Vedic period is supposed to have been not enough educated in the Vedic mantras and to have faced difficulty in reciting alone and precisely the numerous mantras of the Agnyupasthāna, mainly taken from the Ṛgveda, see **2., n.26**. Therefore a Brahmin priest had to attend the Rājanya and to make him recite the mantras. The caus. *vācayitavyas* seems to reflect this situation. The priest is considered to live in the residence of the Rājanya, just as in the case of bringing a meal to the Brahmin first in the Rājanya’s residence (see **4.1., 5.**).

Since the Agnihotra is offered twice a day, in the evening and in the morning, the mantras of Agnyupasthāna as its substitute are expected to be recited in the same way, i.e. in the evening and in the morning. As remarked above **2.1.**, the Agnyupasthāna is usually performed only in the evening, but exceptionally MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,5–8 prescribes a special morning Agnyupasthāna named Prātaravanega ‘washing (one’s hands) in the early morning’ accompanied by recitation of four stanzas belonging to the Vihavya-Sūkta (RV X 128 ~ AV-Ś V 3 [AV-P V 4]), see **2.2.** It is supposed that Prātaravanega as well as the usual evening Agnyupasthāna were carried out by the Rājanya who was an Āhitāgni.

Reciting every morning the four Vihavya-stanzas, which call in advance the gods for his New and Full Moon Sacrifices, guarantee success in the Sacrifices and assure their continuity. Also the stanza for Agni

and Soma in the former half-month and that for Indra and Agni in the latter half-month serve the same purpose (see 2.3.).

## 5. The Agnihotra of the *rājanya* in the Kāṭhaka-Samhitā and Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Samhitā

While the MS<sup>p</sup>, in both the chapters on Agnihotra (see 4.1.) and Agnyādhāna (see 4.2.), describes the doubt, expressed by contemporary scholars, as to whether the Agnihotra of the Rājanya is to be offered or not, the KS<sup>p</sup> and the KpS<sup>p</sup> make a clear negation on this point in the chapter on Agnihotra. The Brahmin is equated with Agni and the superiority of the Brahmin to the Rājanya is emphasized more in the KS<sup>p</sup> and KpS<sup>p</sup> than MS<sup>p</sup>.

**KS<sup>p</sup> VI 6:56,1–4 (≈ KpS<sup>p</sup> IV 5,7:251,12–52,1)<sup>73</sup> [Agnihotra]**

*na rājanyasyāgnihotram asty. avratyo hi sa hanti.<sup>73a</sup> vrataṁ na vicchindyāt. paurṇamāśīṁ ca rātrīm amāvāsyāṁ ca juhuyāt. te hi vratāṁ gopāyati.<sup>74</sup> yāny ahāni na juhuyāt, tāny asya brāhmaṇāyāgre (KpS tāny brāhmaṇāyāgre 'sya)<sup>75</sup> grha upahareyur. agnir vai brāhmaṇo. 'gnā eva taj juhoti. tad asya svaditam eṣṭam bhavati.*

73 The KS<sup>p</sup> and the KpS<sup>p</sup> are identical except for a slight difference as to the position of *asya*, see n.75.

73a For the different division into sentences, cf. Śrautakośa, I Sanskrit Section 71, followed by Navathe 10: *avrattyo hi saḥ | hanti vratam | na vicchindyāt |*; Caland 1921, 196 in the note to ĀpSS VI 15,10 “Für einen Kṣatriya gibt es kein Agnihotra; er ist ja ohne Obsevanz (*vratā*), er zerstört die Observanz. Er unterlasse es (für einen solchen) nicht (gänzlich)”; Navathe 42f. “..., for he is not eligible for religious vows; he ‘kills’ a vow. One should not interrupt (a vow)” with n.3 “cf. the compound *avrataghna* Baudh Dhs 2.10.60.”

74 Based on the misunderstanding about *te* acc. du. f. ‘on these (nights)’ with temporal function (cf. Delbrück 170), Navathe 10 with n.6 corrects *gopāyati* (sg.) (Ed. Schroeder) to *gopāyato* (du.) and translates 43 “those two (nights) protect the religious vow”. Cf. also Caland 1921, 196 “Denn diese beiden Tage bewacht die Observanz”; Mittwede 1989, 54 “te könnte aber auch als Akk. Du. und das Verb **kausativisch** gefaßt werden”.

75 Cf. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,7:127,2 átho brāhmaṇāyāivāsyāgratō grhā áhareyus (see 4.1.). In the KS<sup>p</sup> *asya* is situated in the enclitic position as in the MS<sup>p</sup>, but in the

There is no Agnihotra of the Rājanya, for he kills (see n.73a), not observing the sacrificer's duty. He should not cut off (i.e. interrupt) the sacrificer's duty (*vrata-*). He should offer [the Agnihotra] (at sunset and sunrise) on the full moon night and the new moon night (*amāvāsyā-*, see n.68), for he observes the sacrificer's duty on these two [nights] (see n.74). Those days on which he does not offer [the Agnihotra], [people of his house] should bring [a meal] to a Brahmin first (of all members) in his residence (sg. *grhe*, see n.22). **The Brahmin is indeed the fire (Agni).** Thus [the Rājanya] is considered to pour [the Agnihotra] into the very fire. Thus his (Rājanya's: *asya*) [Agnihotra] becomes what has been tasted [by Agni = Brahmin], consecrated (*eṣṭa-*: *ā + yaj*) [to Agni = Brahmin].<sup>76</sup>

The problem discussed in the KSp and KpSp is the continuity of the sacrificer's duty (*vrata-*) in contrast to the continuity of the sacrifice itself in the MS<sup>p</sup> (in the chapter on Ādhāna and probably also on Agnihotra, see 4.1., 4.2.). The Rājanya, who cannot always observe his sacrificial duty, does not qualify for the Agnihotra for which his Vrata continues all the time without interruption. The nights of the new and full moons, from sunset till sunrise, are the nights of the Upavasatha<sup>77</sup> of the New

non-enclitic position in the KpSp. Cf. Ed. Raghu Vira p.51 n.6 “KS. puts the enclitic *asya* after *tāni*, its right position in the sentence...”.

76 Differently Navathe 43: “(The food) tasted by this (Brāhmaṇa) becomes sacrificed. The gen. *asya* can be interpreted in three ways: 1) possessive ‘his’, i.e. ‘of the Rājanya’ (with an ellipsis of *agniotram*); 2) agent of the v.adj. *svaditam* ‘by him’, i.e. ‘by Agni (= Brahmin)’; 3) agent of the v.adj. *eṣṭam* ‘by him’, i.e. ‘the Rājanya’. Cf. 6.2.A. (with n.83) ĀpSS VI 15,11 *teno haivāsyā hutam bhavati* ‘And indeed in this way, his [Agnihotra] becomes offered’ ≈ B. HirSS III 7,19 *tad dhutam asyāgnihotram bhavati*.

77 *upavasathā-* means originally ‘stay overnight near by the sacred fires with religious observance on the new and full moon nights (from sunset to sunrise)’ and, in the later ritual system, extended to the whole ritual procedure in the day and night (from sunrise to next sunrise) preceding the main offering day of the New and Full Moon Sacrifices (from sunrise to noon). Before beginning the Upavasatha, the sacrificer has to declare undertaking his sacrificer's duty (*vratā-*) before the sacrificial fire. The sacrificer's duty varies

and Full Moon Sacrifices, on which even the Rājanya observes the sacrificer's duty (*vrata-*). That is why the Rājanya is allowed to perform the Agnihotra only on these nights, each at sunset and sunrise.<sup>78</sup>

## 6. Śrautasūtras

The Agnihotra of the Rājanya is no longer forbidden from the TB<sup>P</sup> (see n.8, 3.) onward,<sup>79</sup> except in four Śrautasūtras, which tend to restrict rather than to prohibit its performance.

### 6.1. Maitrayaṇīya School

Quite naturally, the Vārāha-ŚS and the Mānava-ŚS belonging to the Maitrayaṇīya School inherit the restriction of the Rājanya's Agnihotra from the MS<sup>P</sup>; both show a mixture of contents of the Agnihotra-brāhmaṇa (4.1.) and Ādhāna-brāhmaṇa (4.2.). The explanation is much more detailed in the VārŚS than the MānŚS. The Agniyupasthāna as a substitute of the Agnihotra (see 4.2.) is mentioned only in the VārŚS.

#### A. Vārāha-Śrautasūtra I 5,3 [Agnihotra]

10. *anarhato rājanyasya parvasv agnihotram juhuyān. nāntarāle.*

[The priest] should offer the Agnihotra of the unworthy Rājanya [only] at knot-times (at the new and full moons), not in the interval (between the knot-times).

11. *sāyam prātar agram bhaktasya brāhmaṇakulam hared. agny-upasthānam ca vācayet.*

according to the kind of sacrifice, but consists, in principle, in the control of instinctive human desires such as eating, sexual intercourse, speaking untruth, etc. In the case of the Upavasatha, fasting or restraint on eating plays an essential role. Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2018 “Upavasatha ...” (in Japanese) 974–968. For the duty of the Āhitāgni, see 1.3., n.17a, 3., n.47b.

78 The Āhitāgni should offer the Agnihotra by himself on both nights, see 3., n.46 (ĀpŚS VI 15,14–16), n.47.

79 The later Brāhmaṇas encourage all the upper three classes to perform the Agnihotra, for example the story of Bhṛgu visiting other worlds (ŚB XI 6,1; JB I 42–44).

In the evening and the morning, [the Rājanya] should bring a meal (*bhaktasya* partitive gen.) first to the Brahman family (*kula-*; cf. EWAia “Speisegemeinschaft”). And [the priest] should make [the Rājanya] recite the formulas for the Agyupasthāna.

12. *samtatam arhato juhuyāt*.

[The priest] should offer continuously [the Agnihotra] of the worthy [Rājanya].

The following sūtras 13–17 do not treat the Rājanya’s Agnihotra, but provide us important information about the Agnihotrin’s duty; then the sūtras on the Agnyupasthāna follows (see 2.2., n.38).

13. *sāyam patny anvāste na prātaḥ*. (= MānŚ I 6,2,16; see 1.1., n.5)

The (Agnihotrin’s) wife sits aside in the evening [Agnihotra], not in the morning.

14. *himkrtya striyam upeyāt*. (≈ ĀpŚ V 25,11 [Āhitāgnivratāni])

[The Agnihotrin] should approach the woman uttering “him”.<sup>80</sup>

15. *sūryodham atithim nāparundhīta*. (≈ ĀpŚ V 25,5; see 1.3. ŚB II 3,1,7–9, 2.1. MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,3f.)

[The Agnihotrin] should not expel the guest (*atithi-*) carried by the sun.<sup>81</sup>

16. *na sāyam ahute ‘gnihotre ‘śnīyān. na prātaḥ*. // 16// (see 2.1. MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,3f.)

In the evening, when the Agnihotra has not been offered, [the Agnihotrin] should not eat; nor in the morning.

17. *vasanto śisire kakṣam dahet*. //17//

80 This sūtra suggests sexual intercourse after the evening Agnihotra.

81 The guest carried by the sun means the guest who arrives about sunset and implies the light (*jyotiṣ-*), sun’s light (*sūvār-*) or sun’s rays (*raśmī-*), equated with Indra, Prajāpati, or *Viśve Devāḥ* (see n.20), cf. 1.2. ŚB II 3,1,2–4; 1.3. ŚB II 3,1,7–9 [Agnihotra]; 2.1. MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,1–5 [Agnyupasthāna].

In the cool season of the spring (i.e. early spring), [the Agnihotrin] should burn a thicket.<sup>82</sup>

### B. Mānava-Śrautasūtra I 6,1,54 [Agnihotra]

*rājanyasyāgnihotram dhārmukasya nityam. parvasv itarasya. | bhaktam ca nityam brāhmaṇāya dadyāt. |*

The Agnihotra of the Rājanya, who is virtuous (*dhārmuka-*), is always [to be offered] (i.e. obligatory). If [he is] otherwise, [it is to be offered only] at the knot-times (i.e. at the new and full moons). And [the Rājanya] should constantly (obligatorily: *nityam*) give food to a Brahmin.

## 6.2. The New Taittirīya School

It is striking that the Āpastamba- and Hirnyakeśi-ŚS of the New Taittirīya School prohibit the Agnihotra of the Rājanya contrary to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. In both the Sūtras, the performance of the Soma sacrifice is considered as a qualification of the Agnihotrin, which suggests the Brahmins' intention to induce the Rājanyas to perform the Soma sacrifice, see 8. Though both the ĀpŚS and the HirŚS contain the rite of Prātaravaneka (see 2., n.29, 2.2., n.38), only the ĀpŚS prescribes the Agnyupasthāna as a substitute of the Agnihotra. This reveals a close affinity of the ĀpŚS with MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:102,6–103,4 [Ādhāna] (see 4.2.).

### A. Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra VI 15,10–13 [Agnihotra]

10. *na rājanyasya juhuyāt. |*

[The priest] should not offer [the Agnihotra] of the Rājanya.

82 Burning a thicket in early spring is a widespread custom or rite, e.g. MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,2:117,10–12 [Agnihotra], KS<sup>p</sup> VI 2:51,6–8, etc. It takes place especially on the day succeeding the Ekāṣṭakā (the 8<sup>th</sup> night of the waning half-month of Māgha [the last month of a year]) at the beginning of the Dīrghasattra TS III 3,8,4f., cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2000-1 “Das Jenseits und *iṣṭāpūrta-*...” 483: 2.3 Anm.42. For the burning field which makes plants tasteful or eatable (*svadāya-ti*), cf. Gotō 1987 (1996) 341 n.839 (MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,4:120, 17–20, MS<sup>p</sup> II 1,2:2,17–19 – KS<sup>p</sup> X 3:127,1–3 – TS<sup>p</sup> II 2,6,1–12, KS<sup>p</sup> VI 5:53, 14–16 – KpS<sup>p</sup> IV 4; MS<sup>p</sup> III 1,9:12,10).

11. *homakāle grhebhyo brāhmaṇāyānnam̄ prahīnuyāt. teno hai-vāsyā hutam̄ bhavati.* |

At the time of offering [the Agnihotra], [the Rājanya] should send food to a Brahmin from [his] residence (composed of huts: *grhebhyo* pl., see n.22). And indeed in this way, his (Rājanya's: *asya*)<sup>83</sup> [Agnihotra] becomes what has been offered (is considered to have been offered).

12. *nityam̄ agnyupasthānam̄ vācayitavyah.* |

[The Rājanya] is constantly (obligatorily: *nityam*) to be made to recite the [mantras of] the Agnyupasthāna [by the priest].

13. *yo vā somayājī satyavādī tasya juhuyāt.* |

Or if [a Rājanya] performs habitually the Soma sacrifice (*somayājin-*)<sup>84</sup> and speaks always the truth (*satyavādin-*, see n.84), [the priest] should offer his [Agnihotra].

### B. Hiranyakeśi-Śrautasūtra III 7,19 (Satyāśādha-ŚŚ vol.1 p.357 1.8–12) [Agnihotra]

*parvaṇi rājanyasyāgnihotram̄ juhuyān. nāntarāle. | yat tv asya gr̄he 'nnam̄ kriyate, tasmād brāhmaṇāya **mukhato** haranti, tad dhu-tam̄ asyāgnihotram̄ bhavati. ya ṛtam̄ satyam iva vadann **ījānah** somena syāt tasya sadāgnihotram̄ juhuyāt.*

At the knot-time (i.e. at the new or full moon), [the priest] should offer the Agnihotra of the Rājanya, but not in the interval (between the knot-times). When, however, food is made in his house, [and people of his house] bring [a portion] from that (food) first to the

83 *asya* is used as possessive ‘his’, i.e. ‘of the Rājanya’ with an ellipsis of *agniotram*. Cf. 3. KS<sup>p</sup> VI 6:56,1–4 (≈ KpS<sup>p</sup> IV 5,7) *tad asya svaditam eṣṭam bhavati* and n.76.

84 For *-in-*, cf. AIG II-2 346f. (: 217 c): “Vorklassisch finden sich (... in bezug auf Gewohnheitsmässiges) vom RV. oder von den Samh. an, z.B. ... -yājīn-, -vādīn-, ...”.

mouth (*mukhato*)<sup>85</sup> to a Brahmin, then his Agnihotra becomes what has been offered (is considered to have been offered). If [a Rājanya] speaking just (*iva*, see n.52) the right (*rta-*) [and] the truth [and] having already performed a Soma sacrifice were to exist, [the priest] should always (*sadā*) offer his Agnihotra.

All four Śrautasūtras prescribe the bringing of food to the Brahmin as a substitute for the Agnihotra, but without the condition ‘in the sacrificer’s residence’. Also, the condition ‘first’ disappears in the MānŚS and ĀpŚS. In the period of the ŚS, the Brahmin who receives food seems to live inside as well as outside of the Rājanya’s residence in contrast to the Samhitās. This change could indicate that the setting up of the Śrauta fires had become common even among the Rājanayas who were not wealthy enough to have their own priest at home.

On the other hand, the Agnyupasthāna as a substitute for the Agnihotra is mentioned only in the VārŚS and the ĀpŚS. In both texts, it is not clearly stated whether the Agnyupasthāna is necessary in the morning as well as in the evening, see 4.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10:102,6–103,4 [Ādhāna], 2.2. MS<sup>p</sup> I 5,7:75,5–8 [Agnyupasthāna, Prātaravanega]. As for the prescription of the Prātaravanega (VārŚS and MānŚS) and Prātaravaneka (HirŚS and ĀpŚS), see n.38.

## 7. Relation of the prescriptions in the brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras

The above-cited prescriptions in the brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras coincide in principle with each other, but differ with regard to several points as follows:

1) Attitude towards the Rājanya is severe and curt in the following order: KS<sup>p</sup> ≈ KpS<sup>p</sup> > MS<sup>p</sup> I 8,7 [Agnihotra] > MS<sup>p</sup> I 6,10 [Ādhāna] > Śrautasūtras, see 8.

2) Offering of the Agnihotra on the new and full moon nights is in principle allowed, except MS<sup>p</sup> [Agnihotra] and ĀpŚS.

---

85 *mukhato* ‘from the mouth; in front, at the head’ seems to be used here as a wordplay in the sense ‘first’ as well as ‘to the mouth’ both relating to *brāhmaṇāya*.

3) Exceptional allowance of the Agnihotra for the Rājanya who behaves according to the cosmic order and the truth (i.e. the virtuous Rājanya) is common, except MS<sup>p</sup> [Ādhāna] and KS<sup>p</sup> ≈ KpS<sup>p</sup>.

4) Exceptional allowance for the Rājanya who performs a Soma sacrifice is characteristic of the ŠŚ of the New Taittirīya School (ĀpŠŚ and HirŠŚ), see **6.2.**, **8.**, **n.87**.

5) As a substitute for the Agnihotra, offering a meal to a Brahmin is very popular, with only one exception of the MS<sup>p</sup> [Ādhāna].

6) The Agnyupasthāna as a substitute for the Agnihotra is restricted to the texts which admit the morning Agnyupasthāna (Prātaravane-/ka), namely MS<sup>p</sup> [Ādhāna], VārŠŚ and ĀpŠŚ, see **2.2.**, **n.38**, **4.2.**, **6.1.**, **6.2.**. The affinity of the ŠŚ of the New Taittirīya School (ĀpŠŚ, HirŠŚ) to the Maitrāyaṇīya School (MS<sup>p</sup>, VārŠŚ, MānŠŚ) is remarkable.

### [Synopsis]

	exception 1 at the new and full moon	exception 2 virtuous Rājanya	substitute 1 offering a meal to the Brahmin * in the sacrificer's house # first	substitute 2 Agnyupa- sthāna	exception 3 Soma Sac- rificer
MS [Agni- hotra]	×	○	○ *#	×	×
MS [Ādhāna]	○	×	×	○	×
KS=KpS	○	×	○ *#	×	×
VārŠŚ	○	○	○#	○	×
MānŠŚ	○	○	○	×	×
ĀpŠŚ	×	○	○	○	○
HirŠŚ	○	○	○#	×	○

○ mentioned; × not mentioned

## 8. Summary

From the above-cited texts, we may observe the ambivalence of the Brahmin towards the Rājanya in those times when the Vedic rituals were being systematized. The Rājanya needed the Brahmin for sacrifice and counsel in war and in peace, while the Brahmin needed the Rājanya to carry out his priestly roles and to receive the associated fees. Both stood thus in a cooperative partnership. On the other hand, they were set in competition for social hegemony and economic profit. Though being ranked the highest of the social classes, the Brahmin was declining in influence in inverse proportion to the Rājanya during the period of development from a tribal society to a kingdom. The Brahmin, oppressed by military power and robbed of wealth, held a grudge against the Rājanya as is already shown in the Atharvaveda V 18 and 19, see 4.1., n.54. The Brahmin further feared being deprived of his superiority in the intellectual field by the Rājanya and losing his “raison-d’être”, see 4.2. Such fear and hostility seem to have motivated the Brahmin to exclude the Rājanya from the Agnihotra which controls the cosmic order, while the Rājanya is expected to set up the fires and to perform various Śrauta rituals. Attention is to be payed to the fact that the Agnihotra of the Vaiśya does not come into question at all.<sup>86</sup>

In contrast to the conservative attitude of the Maitrāyaṇīya- and Kātha-School, the Tāittirīyas ardently incite the Rājanya to perform Śrauta rituals inclusive of the Agnihotra, especially the Soma Sacrifice which provides the Brahmin with more appointments and fees. It is noteworthy that the ĀpŚS and HirŚS allow the Rājanya to offer the Agnihotra in exchange for the performance of the Soma Sacrifice. The Tāittirīyas’s preferential treatment of the performer of the Soma Sacrifice is found also in the case of offering the Sāṁnāyya, the mixture of sour and fresh milk, in the New Moon Sacrifice: only *somayājīn-* ‘one

---

86 Dumont L’Agnihotra 37 ≈ 87 ≈ 136 “On offre le sacrifice de l’agnihotra pour un Brahmine **ou pour un vaiśya**” is not attested. The setting up of the sacred fires for the Vaiśyas is supposed to have been introduced later in the process of the development.

who habitually performs the Soma Sacrifice' is qualified for the Sāmnāyya offering according to TS<sup>p</sup> II 5,5,1f.<sup>86a</sup> Other brāhmaṇas of YV-Samhitās have no restriction on the Sāmnāyya offering and ŚB I 6,4,10f. rejects clearly the restriction put by TS<sup>p</sup>.<sup>87</sup>

The Vājasaneyins pushed forward the popularization of the Śrauta rituals, based on their affinity for the kingship. This promoted the participation of the Rājanya in religious and philosophical discussions,<sup>88</sup> which accelerated the development of thought in the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad and lead to the epoch of freethinkers outside the priesthood.<sup>89</sup>

86a Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō [forthcoming] “On the Prototype of the New moon sacrifice...” 4., n.77, n.78.

87 Cf. Nishimura 2011, 237–239. Cf. also **n.86a**.

88 For example, **King Janaka**: A) ŚB XI 6,2 (a discussion on the Agnihotra with Brahmin scholars inclusive of Yājñavalkya; Janaka’s teaching of the ‘Five-Fire-Doctrine’), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2001, 157–167; 2000-2, 231–252; B) JB I 22–25 (a similar discussion on the Agnihotra) cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2007, 205 (: 6,4); 2015, 33–35 (: 5,3.); C) ŚB-M XI 3,1~ŚB-K III 1,4~JB I 19f. and VādhAnv II 13 (a dialogue with Yājñavalkya on the oblation of the Agnihotra), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2007, 185–242; D) BĀU IV 1–2 and 3–4 (two dialogues with Yājñavalkya on the “Ātman”), cf. Gotō 2005, 71–85; **King Ajātaśatru**: BĀU II 1 (ŚB-M XIV 5,1) and KauṣU IV 1–20 (a dialogue with Dr̥ptabālaki Gārgya on the Brahman and the Ātman); **King Jā-naśruti Pautrāyaṇa**: ChU IV I,1–3,8 (Raikva’s teaching “Sainvargavidyā”), cf. Gotō 1996, 89–115; **Nagarin Jānaśruteya**: AB V 30, etc. cf. Gotō 1996, 110–112; **King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali**: ChU V 3,1–10,10 ~ BĀU VI 2,1–16 (teaching of the “Five-Fire- and Two-Way-Doctrine” to Gautama Āruṇi), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015, 37–39 (: 5,5.), 39–41 (: 5,6.), 64f. (: 7,5.2.), 68 (: 7,5.3.); **King Aśvapati Kaikeya**: ChU V 11–24 (teaching of the “Ātman Vaiśvānara” to the Brahmins inclusive of Uddāraka Āruṇi); **Citra Gāṅg-yāyāni**: KauṣU I 1–7 (on the way after death), cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015, 68–70 (: 7,6.), 70f. (: 7,7.).

89 Cf. Sakamoto-Gotō 2015, 94–96 (: 9,2. Change of the Vedic religion: from the Brahmins’ ritualism to the Śramaṇas’ meditation and asceticism based on śrauddhā- ‘belief’).

## Abbreviations

m	mantra-portion
p	prose-portion (= “ <i>brāhmaṇa</i> -”) <sup>90</sup>
AiG	see Wackernagel
ĀpŚS	Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda
AV-Ś	Atharvaveda, Śaunaka-recension
AV-P	Atharvaveda, Paippalāda-recension
B	Brāhmaṇa (text titled “-Brāhmaṇa”, see n.90)
BĀU	Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
BaudhŚS	Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra
BhārŚS	Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra
ChU	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
EWAia	see Mayrhofer
HirŚS	Hiranyakeśi-Śrautasūtra = Satyāśāḍha-Śrautasūtra
JB	Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa
KātyŚS	Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra
KauŞU	Kauśitaki-Upaniṣad
RV	R̥gveda
MānŚS	Mānava-Śrautasūtra
MS	Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā
KS	Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā
KpS	Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā
ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyana-ŚS
ŚB	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
ŚB-M	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina-recension
ŚB-K	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva-recension
ŚS	Śrautasūtra
SV	Sāmaveda
TB	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya-Saṁhitā
VādhAnv	Vādhūla(-Śrautasūtra)-Anvākhyāna
VārŚS	Vārāha-Śrautasūtra
VS	Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā

90 The term *brāhmaṇa* (*brāhmaṇa*-) is applied to the texts titled “-Brāhmaṇa” as well as the prose portions of the Yajurveda-Saṁhitās.

## Bibliography

For the text editions, cf. Gotō 1987, 355ff.

Amano, Kyoko: *Maitrāyanī Saṁhitā I-II*. Übersetzung der Prosapartien mit Kommentar zur Lexik und Syntax der älteren vedischen Prosa. Bremen 2009.

Bodewitz, H. W.:  
 [1973] *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I*, 1–65. Translation and commentary, with a study agnihotra and prāṇāgnihotra. Leiden 1973.  
 [1976] *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (agnihotra) according to the Brāhmaṇas*. Leiden 1976.  
 [1990] *The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual. Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I*, 66–364. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary. Leiden 1990.

Caland, Willem:  
 [1921] *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt. 1.–7. Buch. Göttingen 1921.

[1990] *Kleine Schriften*. Herausgegeben von Michael Witzel. Stuttgart 1990.

Debrunner, Albert: see under Wackernagel.

Delbrück, Bertold: *Altindische Syntax*. Halle 1888.

Dōyama, Eijirō: *riguvēda ni okeru I ninshō setsuzokuhō no kenkyū* (Function and Form of the first persons subjunctives in the Rigveda, in Japanese). Memoirs of the Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University, XLV-II. Osaka 2005.

Dumont, P.-E.: *L'agnihotra*. Description de l'agnihotra dans le rituel védique, d'après les Śrautasūtras de Kātyāyana (Yajurveda blanc), Āpastamba, Hiranyakeśin, Baudhāyana, Manu (Yajurveda noir), Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana (Rgveda), et le Vaitāna-Sūtra (Atharvaveda). Johns Hopkins University 1939.

Eggeling, Julius: *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*. According to the text of the Mādhyandina school. Part I Books I and II (The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 12). Oxford 1882, rep. 1993.

Gotō, Toshifumi:  
 [1987] *Die "I. Präsensklasse" im Vедischen*. Untersuchung der thematischen Wurzelpräsentia. Wien 1987 (2<sup>1996</sup>).

[1996] “Zur Geschichte vom König Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa (Chāndogya-Upaniṣad IV 1–3)”. *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 20 (Fs. Thieme), 1996, 89–115.

[2005] “Yājñavalkya’s Characterization of the Ātman and the Four Kinds of Suffering in early Buddhism”. *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* XII-2 (2005) 71–85.

[2007] *Rig-Veda*. Das Erster und Zweiter Liederkreis. Herausgegeben von Michael Witzel, Toshifumi Gotō, Eijiro Dōyama, Mislav Ježić. Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig 2007.

[2008] “Reisekarren und das Wohnen in der Hütte: *śālam* as im Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa”. *Indologica. T. Ya. Elizarenkova Memorial Volume*, Book 1, Moscow 2008, 115–125.

[2009] “Aśvin- and Nāsatya- in the Ṛgveda and their Prehistoric Background”, *Linguistics, Archaeology and Human Past in South Asia*, edited by Toshiki Osada, Manohar 2009, 199–226.

[2013] *Old Indo-Aryan Morphology and its Indo-Iranian Background*. Wien 2013.

Hoffmann, Karl: *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*. Herausgegeben von Johanna Narten. I. Wiesbaden 1975; II. 1976.

Kasamatsu, Sunao:

[2007] “Agnyupasthāna and its Obligation” (in Japanese). *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 56-1 (2007) 269–273, 56-3 (2008) 1236 (English abstract).

[2008] *Saika no reihai — Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I 5,1–14 yakuchū kenkyū —*, Diss. Tohoku University 2008, (in Japanese, Worship of the fire. Study of Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I 5,1–14 with translation and notation). Unpublished.

[2009] “On the construction of *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I 5*” (in Japanese). *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 57-2 (2009), 843–839, 57-3 (2009) 1382f. (English abstract).

Krick, Hertha: *Das Ritual der Feuergründung (Agnyādheya)*. Herausgegeben von Gerhard Oberhammer. Wien 1982.

Mayrhofer, Manfred: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. I. Bd., II. Bd. Heidelberg 1992, 1996. [EWAia]

Minard, Armand: *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins. Recherches sur le Śatapa-tha-Brāhmaṇa*, II. Paris 1956.

Mittwede, Martin:

[1986] *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*. Sammlung und Auswertung der in der Sekundärliteratur bereits geäußerten Vorschläge. Stuttgart 1986.

[1989] *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā*. Stuttgart 1989.

Navathe, P.D.: *Agnihotra of the Kāṭha Śākhā [Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 6.1.-9; 7.1.-11] with Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes*. University of Poone 1980.

Nishimura, Naoko:

[2011] “The Development of the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifice and the Yajur-veda Schools: mantras, their brāhmaṇas, and the offerings”. *Vedic Śākhās. Past, Present, Future*. Proceedings of the Fifth International Vedic Workshop Bucharest 2011, edited by Jan E.M. Houben, Julieta Rotaru & Michael Witzel, 227–250.

[2015] “The Development of the ‘Vihavya-Sūkta’ Ṛgveda X 128” (in Japanese). *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 63-2 (2015), 837–843; 63-3 (2015) 1422f. (English abstract).

Oertel, Hanns: *The Syntax of Cases in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇa*. The disjunct use of cases, 1. Heidelberg 1926.

Sakamoto-Gotō, Junko (downloadable from [<http://sakamotogotojunko.jimdo.com>]): [1994] “Hair and Beard” (in Japanese). *The Sacred and the Profane in Buddhism* = The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association 59, 77–90.

[2000-1] “Das Jenseits und *istā-pūrtá-* ‘Die Wirkung des Geopferten-und-Geschenkten’ in der vedischen Religion”. *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik*. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1977 in Erlangen. Wiesbaden, 475–490.

[2000-2] “*kathām-katham agnihotrām juhutha* — Janakas Trickfrage in ŚB XI 6,2,1 —”. *Anusantatyai*. Festschrift für Johanna Narten, Dettelbach, 231–252.

[2001] “Zur Entstehung der Fünf-Feuer-Lehre des Königs Janaka”. *Norm und Abweichung*. Akten des 27. Deutschen Orientalistentages (Bonn 1998). Freiburg im Breisgau, 157–167.

[2005] “The Agnihotra and the Rājanya” (in Japanese). *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 53-2, 941–947.

[2007] “The Ultimate Agnihotra — ŚB-M XI 3,1, ŚB-K III 1,4, JB I 19f., VādhAnv II 13—” (in Japanese with English abstract). *Ronshū (Studies in Religions East and West)* 34, 484–427.

[2010] “The Vedic Calendar and the Rituals (1)”. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 58-3, 1117–1125.

[2015] *Thought of Circulation of Vital Energy — Research into the Origin of the Doctrine of ‘Karman and Saṃsāra* (in Japanese). Series of Traditional Indian Thoughts no.24, The Center for the Study of Contemporary India, Ryukoku University. Kyoto. (downloadable from RINDAS [<http://rindas.ryukoku.ac.jp>]).

[2016] “On the Prototype of the New Moon Sacrifice (and the ancestral worship) — mainly based on Ṛgveda X 85 and Atharvaveda VIII 10” (in Japanese with English abstract), *Ronshū (Studies in Religions East and West)* 43, 286–259.

[2018] “Upavasatha in Vedic Rituals and Uposatha in Buddhism: An Outline of their Historical Relation” (in Japanese). *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 66-2, 974–968; 66-3, 1268f. (English abstract).

[forthcoming] “On the prototype of the New moon sacrifice based on Ṛgveda X 85”. *Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> International Vedic Workshop* (Dubrovnik, 2019).

[forthcoming] “Symbolik von Haar und Bart im Brahmanismus, Buddhismus und Jinismus — Zu den Lebensweisen der altindischen Religiosen —”, *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies*.

[forthcoming] “Symbolism of Hair and Beard and Ritual Structure in Early Vedic Literature”. Fs. for Michael Witzel.

Schrapel, Dieter: *Untersuchung der Partikel iva und anderer lexikalisch-syntaktischer Probleme der vedischen Prosa. Nebst zahlreichen Textemendationen und der kritischen Übersetzung von Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2, 371–373 (Gavāmayana I)*. Diss. Marburg 1970.

Sgall, Petr: “Die Infinitive im Ṛgveda”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica* 2 (1958), 135–268.

Tichy, Eva: *Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien. Studien zum indogermanischen Verbum, ausgehend von der älteren vedischen Prosa*. Bremen 2006.

Wackernagel, Jacob – Albert Debrunner: Altindische Grammatik. Band II, 1 Einleitung zur Wortlehre. Nominalkomposition (von W) 1905; II, 2 Die Nominalsuffixe (von D) 1954; III Nominalflexion–Zahlwort–Pronomen (von W und D) 1929/1930. Göttingen. [AiG]